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ABSTRACT

These 12 papers are the products of an exchange of a group of promising British and North American adult education researchers, relatively new to the professoriate, for short intensive visits to the other country. These visits were to provide individuals and universities opportunities to develop linkages that might further comparative research and programmatic cooperation. The contributions from British researchers include: "Dialectical Thinking: Our Logical Potential" (Paula Allman) offers an explanation of this way of thinking that all adults have the potential to develop. "Towards an Analysis of the Curriculum of University Extra-Mural Departments in Britain" (Paul F. Armstrong) focuses on the role of both the adult education tutor and students in shaping the curriculum. "Training Women Managers" (Sandra Langrish-Clyne) addresses women's training needs. "Staff Development Courses in UK Universities for the Continuing Education Field" (K. Leni Oglesby) discusses challenges to those training staff in the continuing education field. "State Intervention in Vocational Education: A British Case Study" (John V. Wallis) describes the Youth Opportunities Programme. "New Developments in Science and Technology for Women" (Miriam Zukas) argues for the development of a new curriculum area in liberal adult education. The North American papers include: "Transpersonal Psychology: Guiding Image for the Advancement of International Adult Education" (Marcie Boucouvalas) which explores an image that could guide the further advancement of the field in terms of both theory and plans of action. The next three papers are study reports: "Training Educators of Adults: A Comparative Analysis of Graduate Adult Education in the United States and Great Britain" (Stephen Brookfield); "Analyzing the Short-Term and Long-Term Effectiveness of Continuing Professional Education" (Ronald M. Cervero); and "Teaching Style and Learner Achievement: The Anglo Connection" (Gary J. Conti). The final two papers, with descriptive titles, are "The Educational Broker: An Emerging Role for Adult Educators" (Michael Day) and "Supporting Adult Students: The Role of Significant Others" (Linda H. Lewis). (YLB)

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DIALOGUE ON ISSUES OF LIFELONG LEARNING IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Working Papers from a British and North American Faculty Exchange

Sponsored by:
The Commission of Professors of The American Association for Adult and Continuing Education
and
The Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults

Funded by:
The Kellogg Foundation

Edited by:
Gary J. Conti
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Texas A&M University

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Forward

The British-North American Professorial Exchange grew out of the concerns of international leaders of adult education, Roby Kidd and Budd Hall, to overcome the national boundaries which seem to separate researchers in the same field. Accordingly, the International Council for Adult Education sponsored official exchanges among professor groups in 1976. In one of these exchanges, members of the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA) were placed in contact with members of the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC). Members of each group continued informal visits to one another's conferences. This culminated in 1982 with a visit of an official delegation from SCUTREA proposing a more formal exchange between them and the Commission of Professors of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education.

After preliminary work on both sides of the Atlantic in 1983, a formal professorial exchange was organized for 1984. The intent of this exchange was to select a group of promising researchers, relatively new to the professoriate, for short intensive visits to the other country. These visits were to provide individuals and universities opportunities to develop linkages which might further comparative research and programmatic cooperation.

The exchange, which had received small grants from the British Consul for 2 consecutive years, was funded for $25,000 by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. This generous support allowed six professors from each country to initiate the exchange. It is the papers presented by the 1984 Kellogg Exchange Professors that appear in this collection.

The Kellogg Exchange will continue in 1985 with a similar group of professors. Already, one sees benefits that go beyond the exchange: the holding of an International Peace Conference in Great Britain has been discussed; the British Open University has organized a Fullbright Scholar Program in 1985-1986 for the purpose of providing a knowledge base and advice center in Britain about current developments in the field of adult and continuing education within the United States; and there are, currently, explorations proceedings among several Exchange Fellows on possible comparative research projects which could be done cooperatively.

These collected papers, jointly organized by the two exchange professors from Texas A&M University and Nottingham University, are a fitting beginning to document an activity which we expect to continue to generate cooperation among and between researchers in the two countries. As initiators of the project, we look forward with anticipation to future developments which may occur as a result of the Exchange.

Phyllis M. Cunningham
Northern Illinois University

Gerald Normie
The Open University

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Acknowledgments

The major portion of the funding for the British and North American Network of Adult Educators exchange, which occurred in July and November of 1984, was provided by the Kellogg Foundation. This grant allowed the 12 Kellogg fellows to visit various host institutions, to lead formal discussions on critical issues of adult education's role in a social democracy, and to be involved in numerous informal discussions. The papers from these presentations reflect a variety of writing styles; they have been slightly edited according to the second edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* to provide consistency for this publication. However, every effort has been made to maintain the original flavor of each manuscript. Collectively these manuscripts represent the thinking and research interests of a young cadre of adult education professors in Great Britain and in North America. Through this exchange, these ideas have been presented to a variety of educators at the national adult education conferences and at several universities on both sides of the Atlantic. Because of the common social, economic, and political heritage of Great Britain and North America, these topics provide a means of focussing the dialogue on issues of lifelong learning in a democratic society.

This publication was made possible by the extra effort of numerous people. First and foremost is Heidi M. Glaisyer who volunteered to personally typeset the papers for this volume. John V. Wallis collected the British papers, and Linda D. Conti provided technical assistance in formatting the final copy. Larry M. Dooley of the College of Education arranged for special funding to allow printing on the Texas A&M University mainframe computer. Neither the exchange nor this subsequent publication would have been possible without the foresight, optimism, and tenacity of Phyllis M. Cunningham and Gerald Normie.

The Editors

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DIALECTICAL THINKING: OUR LOGICAL POTENTIAL

Paula Allman
University of Nottingham

Introduction

Adult, community and continuing educators have tended to focus their educative energies on personal development and the development of further knowledge and skill. Most of our teaching programmes are aligned to one or some combination of those three objectives. Until recently the development of how we think, or how we come to understand, or what psychologists call cognitive development was thought to be outside our remit. That aspect of development was to have reached a mature or fully developed level by the end of adolescence; therefore, unless we were engaged in compensatory education, it was not on our agenda. However, during the past decade psychologists have begun to look at adults and the process of development during adulthood with fresh insights. In this paper I will attempt to integrate some of those insights and some of my own in order to offer an explanation of dialectic thinking, a way of thinking which we and all other adults have the potential to develop. Hopefully this discussion will add a new objective to our educational agenda but not without a consideration of the implications that it may have regarding our approaches to teaching and learning (Nottingham Andragogy Group, 1983).

Before I begin talking about dialectic thinking, I would like to set it within a limited historical context; because I believe that the current thinking in any discipline can only be more fully comprehensible to those outside the discipline by historically grounding it, i.e., establishing where it has come from and why.

As many of you will know, cognitive developmental psychology focusses primarily on the development of thinking from infancy through late adolescence. Jean Piaget's research and theory about development was and remains the most important and influential contribution to this field. I have no intention of trying to summarise this contribution, but I will at various points in our discussion need to say a few things about it. In setting the historical context one such comment is necessary.

The period during which Piaget conducted research, theorised, and shared his thinking covered a great number of years. His first academic paper, though not on a psychological topic, was published in his early teens, and he was still writing and even more important reformulating his ideas at the end of his life. In Piaget's case we are then talking about academic or intellectual contributions covering a period of roughly 65 years. How many of us think or understand in the same way this year as we did, for example, five years ago? However, there is what seems to me an amazing tendency for educated people to ignore the historical or developmental nature of 'great' people's thinking. Another good example of which some of you will be aware is the way in which Karl Marx's work has been treated. Of course there is the informed recognition of the difference between his early and his later writings, but what of the development within those later writings. Again we are talking about long periods of time in a person's life and experience--20 to 30 years. Piaget and Marx are only two of numerous examples who have suffered this tendency to treat a person's thinking in an ahistorical or non-developmental way. I mentioned Marx because I will be returning to the development of his thinking later in this discussion. For the minute Piaget is our central focus.

Piaget's work has had a profound effect on educational practice, but the theory and research which has had this influence does not include the last ten years of his developing thought which has been ignored by many psychologists and most educators. To my thinking this has had an extremely devastating effect even on people who have never heard of Piaget. In our society most people have learned to think of the period of life from late adolescence through very old age as a nondevelopmental one. Of course we talk about people developing personally, emotionally or creatively, but what I am criticizing is the mistaken notion that the way we think about, reflect upon and comprehend our experience and our world is the same at the age of 30, 50, or 80 as it was at the age of 16. Piaget, himself, challenged this view in his later philosophical and epistomological writings (1970, 1972). However, by the early 1970's other

psychologists, notably the late Klaus Riegel (1973), had already begun to challenge the accepted wisdom that the last and therefore most mature and complex form of thinking was the stage of formal operations depicted in Piaget's theory (i.e., the theory as stated prior to the last ten years of its development). Here I need to stop this historical background for a minute or two so that I can describe the nature of formal reasoning. I do so not just to offer a definition but a base against which we can later contrast a very different system of thinking viz., dialectic reasoning. When we think at the stage of formal operations our thinking processes conform to or are analogous to the structure of formal logic. We are able to look at a problem (however, note that the problem is given or defined for us) and deduce the relevant variables or factors which may contribute to the effect we are observing. We then systematically, i.e., by instituting controls, test out all possible combinations of the variables until we discover the cause of, or in other words, the solution to, the problem. These thinking processes are said to be abstract or independent of content so that we don't need to see, touch, or manipulate these variables. The emphasis on the processes being abstract was pointed in some of Piaget's writing and has had considerable influence on educators working with adolescents and adults. However as early as 1967, Piaget himself hinted at a revision in his thinking when he said:

> Adolescent egocentricity is manifested by a belief in the omnipotence of reflection, as though the world should submit itself to idealistic schemes rather than to systems of reality....so the metaphysical egocentricity of the adolescent is gradually lessened as a reconciliation between formal thought and reality is effected (pp. 63-64).

Riegel and other psychologists who have reopended the book on development by theorising a human potential--and particularly an adult potential--to develop alternative systems of thought or reasoning processes have not carried out experiments or scientific observations to establish evidence for their theories. There are several reasons for this reluctance to utilize the accepted methods of psychological research. The first is that, as I shall attempt to demonstrate later, a complete psychological understanding of dialectic thinking is only just emerging. Part of what we now understand is how very complex the processes are and, as a consequence how difficult it would be to actually isolate the processes utilizing the traditional approaches of our science. But more important than these reasons is that our thinking about dialectic reasoning and our increasing understanding of it, takes us far beyond the traditional focus of psychology, viz., the individual. Psychological assumptions, concepts and research methodologies are all grounded in a consideration of individuals. Any sort of research methods such as experiments or observations which focusses on individuals in isolation from their social historical contexts is, in fact, alien to our understanding of dialectic reasoning. It is impossible to fully comprehend dialectic thinking as a process in isolation because it does not function in isolation and because we must simultaneously comprehend the multitude of social, cultural and political ideas and concepts, the constituent factors of our society's common sense, which constrain or inhibit our ability to think dialectically.

Given what I have just said, it would be quite reasonable for your to ask. How do you know people have the potential to develop this type of thinking or why do some psychologists think this is our developmental potential? In turning away from experimental and observational evidence, we fortunately have not been left with informed speculation alone. Most of the evidence lies in history or rather in an analysis of the historical development of scientific, philosophical and political thought. To make a connection between the historical development of academic thinking and the development of thought in human beings is not new to developmental psychologists. The accomplishments in the former have, for quite sometime, been thought of as the potential of the latter.

In order to share with you my present understanding of dialectic reasoning, I will be using the historical development of scientific thinking as an explanatory aid. This will also enable me to utilize the development of thinking about a particular psychological or scientific concept which is of interest to most adult educators, viz., creativity.

When I describe the history of scientific thought, I will not be talking about quantitative advances, i.e., scientific knowledge or content, but qualitative advances. Advances in scientific or any theoretical understanding comprises more than "simply having the facts. It also requires conceptual tools adequate for

dealing with the facts, and these tools advance with all other human knowledge and activity" (Tolson, 1981, pp. 34-35). Therefore what I will be describing is the historical development of these conceptual tools. Figure 1 is intended to assist this discussion. As you can see, two of the categories of scientific thinking fall under the heading of metaphysical. I have borrowed Engel's definition of metaphysical, viz., that any type of thought which is not dialectical is metaphysical; therefore the emphasis on metaphysical is not surprising. It is also worth noting, before we look more carefully at the diagram, that to designate conceptual tools as being metaphysical is not intended to degrade them. But what is implied was stated very succinctly by Engels (1959):

> The metaphysical mode of thought, justifiable and necessary as it is in a number of domains whose extent varies according to the nature of a particular object of investigation sooner or later reaches a limit beyond which it becomes one-sided, restricted, abstract and lost in insoluable contradictions. (p. 35)

In the diagram, the first category of scientific thinking is labelled the metaphysics of properties. If we go back a couple of centuries to the beginnings of modern science, we will find that most of the activity of science was devoted to classifying the multitude of entities comprising the natural world. Nor has this type of conceptual activity ceased to be of importance to science. The most obvious example is the very diagram you are looking at, i.e., my attempt to categorize for you the developments in scientific thought. Classifying or categorizing is also an essential feature in our own development. At some point during our primary school education, we all acquired or rather developed this conceptual tool and thus we advanced in our ability to make sense of our world and our experience within it. But neither we nor science could stand still with this tool alone. The deeper our understanding and knowledge about things in themselves the greater becomes our awareness of how they interact with or relate to other things; things do not nor do we exist in isolation.

With this awareness there grew the need for new strategies which could help us conceptualize the inter-relation of things. This need, therefore, ushered in the next historical development in scientific thinking, viz., the metaphysics of relations. The focus of attention was no longer merely related to the properties of the isolated thing, subject or object, but was also directed at the qualities that emerge from the inter-relation or interaction of subject and object or either or both of these in relation to context. However, these emerging qualities were thought of as being derived from the existing properties of the relating things. These are called external relations because they actually exist prior to the actual moment or process of interaction. Therefore, within this way of conceptualizing, the ways in which the actual process of relating affects the properties of the relating things is ignored or rather is not a part of the conceptual tool. The properties of the relating things must be assumed to be static or unaffected by the relationship or interaction. Within this type of thinking, this is not so much a conscious assumption but rather a neglect of focus, i.e., the question of how the relating affects those involved has not even been asked at this point in the development of scientific thought. It is perhaps the posing of that question that shifts the focus of the conceptual strategy to the relating itself and thus renders one capable of conceptualizing movement and development in nature, in history, and in thought.

In my diagram I have attempted to show that dialectic thinking itself has gone through an historical development (Reese, 1982), and I am beginning to suspect that it also undergoes qualitative transitions as it develops within individuals. Dialectic Idealism, or the alternative system of logic propounded by Hegel, recognized that things as they exist at any one moment in time do not pre-exist their relations. To comprehend a thing involves the conceptual process of revealing its internal relations and contradictions, or in other words of visualizing all things, human or otherwise, as dynamic products of mutually exclusive--opposite tendencies--an ever changing unity of things in their repose. But Hegel, probably because he was thinking within an historical period which inhibited him from thinking otherwise, thought that some sort of idealised destiny determined the ultimate direction of this movement within individuals and societies. This sort of teleological or deterministic pull on development seems still present to a degree in some of Marx's and other Marxist thinkers' writings. However the determining agent is no longer idealistic but a matter of historical fact. On the diagram I have labelled this historical materialism. Here I would return to my earlier

Figure 1
Stages of Scientific Thought

The Metaphysics of Properties

Class A Class B Class C

The Metaphysics of Relations

Subject Object

Perception

Subject or Object Context

Qualities

That which emerges in relations is a function of the properties of the relating thing, e.g., *External relations* which *pre-exist* their relations and are therefore static.

Dialectical

1. Things do not pre-exist their relations. 2. To understand the thing is to reveal its internal relation and contradictions. 3. All things, human and otherwise, are the ever changing result of contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies: they are/WE ARE -- a unity of opposites. Our human essence is developmental -- so too our societies, but towards what end?

Three Modes of Dialectic

1. Dialectical Idealism: Progression, destiny, or historical necessity; Teleological.

2. Historical Materialism: Progression, i.e., due to historical fact; Quasi-Teleological.

3. Dialectical Materialism: Non-Teleological; Internal contradictions do not determine but regulate the essence of a thing which is always in motion and changing. Thus, a conceptual tool for understanding -- not for determining.

conjecture that the historical development of Marx's own thinking has not been studied carefully enough. By the time he wrote *Capital*, Marx was applying a fully fledged conceptual/analytical strategy, viz., dialectic materialism, which led to a more complex or qualitatively advanced way of understanding capitalism. In that work he analyses the ways in which the internal contradictions regulate rather than determine the changing face of capitalism. Marx was aware of or conscious of using a new form of conceptual analysis. Marx always intended to write a "method" like Hegel's *Science of Logic* after coming to terms with political economy; he never wrote this intended work, but Lenin noted, "If Marx did not leave behind him a Logic, he did leave the logic of *Capital*" (cited in Coward and Ellis, 1977, p. 23).

And I also suspect that his disclaimer, that he, himself, was not a marxist, had to do with his realisation that many would focus only on the content of what he wrote ignoring the intellectual strategy he employed.

Having described the history of scientific conceptualizing and dialectical thinking in general terms, I would like to take a single concept, creativity, and examine the changes which have taken place in our understanding and our thinking about it. Though I have never conducted a head count, I would guess that the vast majority of psychological research and theory relating to creativity has been conceptualized according to the metaphysics of properties. I am thinking of the various attempts to delineate either the facets (properties) of the creative personality or the stages which constitute the creative process. I also would suspect that a great deal of the discussion about aesthetics or art criticism also operates at this level of conceptual analysis.

On the other hand at least some psychologists have conceptualized or thought about creativity at the level of the metaphysics of relations. What seems to me an almost perfect example of this level of thinking is offered in the following definition of creativity cited by Carl Rogers (1975):

> The creative process is the emergence in action of a novel relational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual on the one hand, and the material events, people or circumstances of his life on the other. (p. 343)

However of all the psychological writing on creativity I have found to date, the most interesting is that of Abraham Maslow. His thinking about creativity, moves across the metaphysical continuum and comes almost, but not quite, to the dialectic. In some of his writings he talks about three categories of creativity, viz., primary, secondary, and integrative (Maslow, 1968). This seems to fit the description of the metaphysics of properties, but he goes on to reserve the last of these categories, which in fact entails the interaction of the first two, to describe the creation of great works of art. Clearly his thinking in so doing conforms better to the description of the metaphysics of relations. However his thinking does not stop here and almost bridges the gap between metaphysical and dialectical thinking when he discusses the creative nature of self-actualised people. Maslow spent a great deal of time studying people whom he felt had reached the pinnacle of development which Maslow himself had identified in his theory of motivation. In a discussion of these people, he says:

> One observation I made has puzzled me for many years but it begins to fall in place now. Briefly stated, I found that I had to see differently many oppositions and polarities that psychologists had taken for granted as straight line continua. For instance, to take the first dichotomy, I could not decide whether my subjects were selfish or unselfish. Observe how spontaneously we fall into either or here. The more of one the less of the other is the implication of the style in which I put the question. But I was forced by sheer pressure of fact to give up this Aristotelian style of logic. My subjects were selfish in one sense and unselfish in another. And the two fused together, not like incompatibles but rather in a sensible dynamic unity. My subjects had put opposites together in such a way as to make me realize that to regard selfishness and unselfishness as contradictory and mutually exclusive is itself characteristic of a lower level of personality development. (Maslow, 1959, p. 87)

Maslow comes close to the dialectic position on the continuum because he recognizes the unity of opposites within people, but he no sooner arrives than he departs by mystifying the process. Somehow, magically the individual integrates the dichotomies or contradictions and is less split or more well integrated than other people. Therefore Maslow, by ignoring the relationship between the contradictions, denies the dynamic nature of the developmental struggle. In fact, he seems totally unaware

of the struggle. This is partly because he is using contradiction in a limited sense. In dialectic thinking contradiction is not just the opposite of something else but that dynamic which arises out of struggle or the relationship between two opposites (Tolman, 1981), and these contradictions arise out of whilst also contributing to or regulating the nature of, in this case, the selfish/unselfish dichotomy.

However, Maslow's recognition of the unity of opposites or contradictions in human beings is an important recognition. Klaus Riegel says more or less the same thing about the importance of this recognition by modern science. In talking about advances in scientific thought, Riegel (1973) suggests that the greatest advance has been the understanding that contradiction is inherent in natural phenomena rather than being indicative of some fault in scientific reasoning. It should be noted, however, that while some branches of modern science may understand this others remain slavishly aligned to positivistic pursuits.

Riegel's remark brings me back to Riegel and current psychological thinking about dialectic thought. Riegel in 1973 was the first psychologist to propose a theory of dialectic operational thought or dialectic logic. From 1973 to 1979, he wrote a great deal about his theory and stimulated discussion and writing by other psychologists (Riegel, 1976, 1979). But there was one central problem in these works which only becomes apparent when you carefully study the examples cited by Riegel. Like Maslow, though having gone far beyond him, Riegel used contradiction in the limited sense of meaning the opposite (Tolman, 1981). In his example related to the remark about advances in scientific thought, he writes about the need for modern physicists to tolerate and even be excited by two contradictory or opposite theories regarding the nature of light, i.e., wave and particle theories. Not in that example or anywhere else does he take on the true nature of dialectic contradiction. To do so would entail, for example, a comprehension of how the relationship between the two opposing theories actually affects the theories or a comprehension of the nature of light itself as a contradiction arising out of its opposing manifestations.

Recently Charles Tolman and Hayne Reese have offered valuable critiques of Riegel's theory, and so at this point in the historical development of developmental psychology, we are left with an amended theory. No-one, as yet, has reintegrated these amendments into an interperative theory of human developmental potential.

I personally feel that psychologists need to look outside psychology before attempting this reintegration. For example, we need to study carefully the writings of those who have attempted to explain their social and historical contexts by using the dialectic conceptual tool. This would entail trying to tease out the logical method or strategy used by Marx, Gramsci, Lenin and others. Lenin (1972), in particular has offered an articulation of Marx's method, but psychologists, or at least some psychologists, could develop this further so that it could be translated into educational terms or processes. When looking back historically to cull the exact form of the dialectic methods, we must be careful to ground what is said within the context of scientific, philosophical, and political thought at that historical period. It is my contention that a great many of the criticisms regarding deficiencies in Marx's and marxists' writings derive from a failure to understand what is being said within an historical context. We tend to reflect on these writings with the conceptual tools of the present rather than understanding them as advances on the conceptual tools which were current at their inception.

We also need to use this method of thinking in thinking about our current social problems and to reflect on those factors which constrain us from thinking in this way. In so doing, we should come to a much more comprehensive understanding of dialectic logic. In addition, all which we previously conceptualized in terms of external relations needs to be reconceptualized in terms of internal reactions, for instance, concepts such as creativity.

Riegel even with his limited use of contradiction recognized it as the movement or developmental agent in thought--a generator of important questions and problems. But as long as contradiction was conceived simply in terms of opposites, or paradoxes more likely of thwarting movement, the developmental role of contradiction could not be realized. Therefore we need to observe what influences us to move from a recognition or comprehension of contradiction or simultaneously existing oppositions to a comprehension of how the relationships of contradiction regulate the development of people and societies. I would

suggest that the reconceptualization of things as constituted of internal rather than external relations is paramount to this transition. If we are willing to look outside our own discipline, there are many examples in contemporary academic literature which offer us models of the application of the dialectic method. One of the best examples I have found is in E. P. Thompsons's *The Making of the English Working Class*. In the preface, Thompson states that a class is not a thing in itself--it does pre-exist its relations, and he then goes on to use the dialectic conceptual tool to reveal the history of that "making."

In preparing this paper I came across an example of an analysis of creativity which comes much closer to a dialectic interpretation than any other I have been able to find. The example comes from the sociology of art and is drawn from the concluding chapter of Janet Wolff's *The Social Production of Art*. Her comments bring us back to the notion of creativity but also at least some way forward to a dialectical understanding of that concept. When I read the following extract, I thought Wolff and I are talking about the same things but, of course, in a very different way. She is applying the method and my focus is on trying to describe what she is doing. She says:

> I have presented two main arguments for replacing the traditional notion of the artist as creator with one of the artist as producer, recognizing the nature of artistic work as located production. These were, first, that an overemphasis on the individual artist as unique creator of a work is misleading because it writes out of the account the numerous other people involved in the production of any work and also draws attention away from the various social constituting and determining processes involved. Secondly, the traditional concept of artist as creator depends on an unexamined view of the subject, which fails to see the manner in which subjects are themselves constituted in social and ideological processes. At the same time, it presents a simplified account of the subject as a coherent, rational entity without recognizing that any such attempt depends on an arbitrary selection of biographical and character features, imposing an artificial unity on the individual as a subject. [For both these reasons she advocates that we can only give an account of an artist] . . . in terms of the structures of his or her past and present constitution. Replacing the vocabulary of "creation", "artist", and "work of art" with that of cultural or artistic production, and cultural producer--and "artistic product" is no sacrilegious demotion of the aesthetic to the mundane. It is a way of ensuring that the way we talk about art and culture does not allow or encourage us to entertain mystical, idealised and totally unrealistic notions about this sphere . . . . [Here she quotes Pierre Macherey:] The various "theories" of creation all ignore the process of making; they omit any account of production. One can create undiminished, so, paradoxically, creation is the release of what is already there . . . . [Wolff goes on to say:] The artist, as cultural producer, then, has a place in the sociology of art. It is no longer necessary for sociological analysis to have to choose whether to give priority to "action" or to "structure", or to argue about volunteerism and determinism. As a number of people have suggested we have to operate with a model which posits the mutual interdependence of structure and agency, rather than the primacy of one or other. (pp. 137-138)

A dialectic approach to understanding art should enhance our understanding of art and our understanding of the sources from which our appreciation of art derives. When we analyse creativity, art or any other aspect of human endeavour or any aspect of our society dialectically, we increase the complexity of the analytical task, and, of course, this may deter some people. However by increasing the complexity of our analysis, we also increase the scope and depth of our understanding. I agree with Paulo Freire (1972), that our human vocation is to transform and develop ourselves and our societies. I simply add the point that the development of dialectic thinking should result in a level of understanding our reality which will better enable us to transform it in accordance with our human needs and as a consequence realise and continually develop our human potential.

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TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS OF THE CURRICULUM OF UNIVERSITY EXTR-MURAL DEPARTMENTS IN BRITAIN

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Introduction

Curriculum studies are a relatively recent phenomena in British education, developing only in the past 20 years,

> out of a search to reconcile partial theories about education, a new commitment towards finding a body of theory that was informed by practice, and a wider movement to renew the form and content of education. (Horton & Raggatt, 1983, p. 1)

In essence, they take as problematic what should be planned, taught, and learned in our educational institutions, using a definition of curriculum which is broader than that of just *content*, i.e., subjects on the timetable or in the programme and what is taught under those subject headings, but rather curriculum as not only what is taught, but how it is taught and why it is taught.

Most curriculum studies have been carried out on the compulsory education sector. Indeed, the concept of curriculum has not been widely used in adult education. This has been recognised by Jarvis (1983) who points to just two contributions to curriculum studies in adult education. The first of these is Mee and Wiltshire's study of *The Structure and Performance in Adult Education* (1978), and the second is the more recent *Curriculum Theory in Adult and Lifelong Education* (1983) by Colin Griffin. In this, Griffin says that Mee and Wiltshire have produced one of the very few studies of British adult education that have any "real significance for the development of curriculum theory of adult education" (1983, p. 129). In the Mee and Wiltshire analysis and classification of adult education provision, there is evidence that this has been informed by perspectives from within the sociology of organisations rather than showing concern for adult learning. This led them to produce a typology of institutions with a number of dimensions from which emerged five major types of adult education institutions. They also distinguished, through analysis of the subjects taught, a classification through which the subject distribution could be studied. For our purposes, this has two weaknesses. Firstly, its focus is on local authority provision, though it does take account of "responsible body", i.e., The Workers Educational Association (WEA) and university extra-mural departments, provision as well. Secondly, their use of typologies and classifications is useful for *describing* provision by these agencies but does not provide an explanatory framework for its analysis. This is illustrated when Mee and Wiltshire (1978) state that they find a "surprising consistency of provision over most types of institutions" (p. 41) which seem to constitute a core curriculum common to most institutions. But the authors are not able to account for this consistency nor for why they find consensus which operates even "in the absence of any nationally organised student body demanding such a curriculum" (Griffin, 1983, p. 135). Mee and Wiltshire failed to deal with the issues in terms of curriculum theory.

By contrast, Griffin's book is a major contribution to the analysis of curriculum theory and, in particular, in the application of curriculum models to adult, lifelong, and recurrent education. He concludes:

> The object of theory is the elucidation of practice . . . . Any theory of education must, in the last resort, be a theory of practice . . . . So a theory of adult and lifelong education is one of curriculum practice. It is not a theory of adult learning, nor of the organisation of provision, nor even of why more adults do not participate in formal or structured learning. Important as these issues are, they give rise to theories *about* adult education rather than *of* it. Theories about adult and lifelong education could not substantiate the claims made for its individual, social and political importance, and do not contribute much to a deeper understanding of it as an object either of legislation or social policy. It has been argued here that its importance and its theoretical elucidation depend ultimately upon a curriculum-oriented approach which focuses upon the practice of adult teaching and learning, and especially upon the content of practice in terms of knowledge, culture and power. (Griffin, 1983, p. 201)

What we are seeking to do here is to test out the idea that curriculum studies is "elucidation

of practice" and theory. As Jenkins and Shipman (1976) have commented:

> It would be strange to view curriculum studies as a practitioners' theory if at the same time it transpired that the practitioners are pawns with little freedom of action. (p. 9)

In other words, the focus is on the role of both the adult education tutor and the students in shaping the curriculum of university extra-mural departments. Traditionally, there is a belief that one of the defining characteristics of British adult education is its student-centredness. As well as having implications for the teaching of adults, this may also have an effect on the curriculum of adult education, or as we more commonly refer to it in Britain, the programme. As Jarvis (1983) has pointed out:

> That adult education could provide an educational programme that responded to the needs of individuals and communities has been an ideologically important factor to those whose occupation is at the margins of the education service. (p. 232)

In earlier papers I have challenged the idea that adult education meets the needs of students (Armstrong, 1982a, 1982b). In these a theoretical argument was provided which suggested that the phrase "meeting needs" is best understood as an "objective factity," a defensive slogan propagated to protect areas of work and expertise, and in particular to justify claims for scarce resources. This ideological interpretation was very close to that provided by Ivan Illich in *Disabling Professions*, seeing "meeting needs" as a professional strategy, although located in a wider, more critical framework than that used by Illich. To destroy this theoretical argument, it should be possible through an analysis of the curriculum of adult education to show that students' needs are a central influence. If we fail to support this, this does not mean that the ideological interpretation is correct but merely substantiates the claim that "meeting needs" is a myth. Further empirical analysis would be necessary to show that not only is it a myth but a professional strategy.

In any case, when examining the influences on the curriculum, the teaching profession in general in Britain appear to believe that they have control over the curriculum. Teacher autonomy in the classroom is another widely-held belief in Britain because of its de-centralised system of education which, when compared with a centralised one, would certainly give the appearance of teacher control. But, like meeting student needs, this may also turn out to be a myth, and teachers--even in British university extra-mural departments--may have less autonomy and control than they imagine. The control of the curriculum in British education is rather more subtle than in many other countries and in operating through teachers is, at the same time, operating over them too.

In order to examine this, we have to seek to answer those questions which Mee and Wiltshire (1978) but push to one side:

> How does the curriculum come to be the way it is? By what consensus and what means are its general outlines and proportions maintained with such consistency in many different places and circumstances? Is it an expression of a native cultural tradition? (p. 33)

To help us in this task, we need to develop some kind of framework which will permit the analysis of the curriculum of university adult education. The model used here is two-dimensional since it seeks to encompass those institutions and agencies that have influence in the control of the curriculum at different levels of the educational system, from the classroom through institutional, local, national, and international influences, but at the same time recognising that within these levels there will be differences of view concerning the role of lay as well as professional groups.

This model merely identifies the range of groups and individuals which exercise control over the curriculum. It does not give any indication of the relative importance or significance of each of these agencies. Behind it lie pluralist assumptions to the effect that each of them have some influence in a kind of homeostatic way, where each "interest group" is integrated with the others to maintain a "fluid equilibrium" between them. Thus, the influences balance each other out so as not to permit any one of them to become too powerful. We may, therefore, refer to the model as a "democratic" one. This model has been derived from Scrimshaw (1981), who raises a number of difficulties associated with it, such as the distinction between professional and lay groups, the problem of distinguishing levels when there is complex interplay between them, the fact that any particular individual is likely to be included in more than one of the groupings, and "where, indeed, does 'society' fit into the diagram, and how precisely would you define 'society' here, and establish what, in educational terms, its views were" (p. 10)?

In Figure 1, this "democratic model" has been tentatively applied to university extra-mural provision in Britain. A full analysis would discuss the significance of each of these in turn, but as this is only a working paper, only a few of those mentioned in the model will be discussed here, in order to try to go beyond description and begin to do an analysis in terms of significance.

In this democratic model, the significance of the classroom influences is stressed. It is argued that the further away from the classroom, the less significnat are the influences on the curriculum. Thus, international influences would be considered least important, followed by those political and academic influences at the national level. This would suggest that the government is less important in shaping the curriculum than the teacher or the students. However, there is evidence to suggest that this may be a myth. In the compulsory sector of British education, the role of the teacher in curriculum control has always been suspect, particularly if they are teaching to externally-examined public examination syllabuses. Certainly, teachers would still have some control over the interpretation of the syullabus and, perhaps, over how the subjects are to be taught, but whether the teacher is completely autonomous is open to doubt. In any case, even if it was true ten years ago, we may need to revise our opinion today as the government has increasingly intervened with the curriculum of schools in the compulsory sector. The same is happening within the further education sector, particularly through the mounting influence of the Manpower Services Commission. This requires separate discussion, but suffice it to say that teachers in further education are increasingly feeling a loss of influence or control over their own curriculum. It is interesting to note that a recent Further Education Unit review (1981) of major styles of curriculum design in further education, entitled *Curriculum Control* recognised that studies of the curriculum process may take place at four levels:

> (a) At the level of the national or central bodies and their decisions. (b) At the level of the college authorities responsible for seeing that central decisions are implemented. (c) At the level of the teachers and their decisions. (d) At the level of the classroom interaction between students and teachers. (p. 1)

Because an in-depth study of the curriculum at all of these levels was beyond the scope of the review, it focused primarily on the national level and examined the processes and assumptions of a number of central bodies concerned with the curriculum in further education, such as the City and Guilds London Institute, the Business and Technical Education Council, the Royal Society of Arts, and the Manpower Services Commission. This gives us a clue as to where the main influences on the curriculum of further education lie--not in the hands of teachers or students.

When we come to consider the full-time adult educator in university adult education, we may feel that the situation is somewhat more optimistic. The autonomy of the university lecturer has been largely undisputed, until fairly recently. Behind the flag of "academic freedom" and under the security of tenure, university lecturers have been largely free to design their own curriculum, subject only to their own internal government (boards at departmental and faculty level, and university senate) and to rather more nebulous concerns such as tradition or university standards. What is surprising, therefore, is the sense of uniformity which one finds in the curricula of British universities. Even Britain's Open University, which because of its relatively recent establishment and its different structure of funding, had the opportunity to develop an independent and unique curriculum, has been conservative.

> The kind of education which was to be offered was not seen as requiring any modification. The curriculum in particular was seen to be unproblematic, with natural "levels" and subjects . . . it followed that the Open University naturally had to have a conventional university curriculum if it was to maintain "standards" and receive the support of the academic community--a university with any other kind of curriculum was almost a contradiction in terms. As a result, despite some experimentation with multi-disciplinary courses or with new specialisms, the contents of courses at the OU tend to reflect the conventional views of what counts as university knowledge. (Harris & Holmes, 1976, p. 80)

Similarly, the history of university extra-mural provision would show a remarkable consistency. Shortly after the publication of the Russell Report in 1973, the Universities Council on Adult Education (UCAE) (1974), looking back over 100 years, made the following observations about university extra-mural

Figure 1
Control of the Curriculum of University Adult Education:
The Democratic Model

Level	Professional ---------- Lay		
International	International Council for Adult Education	UNESCO OECD International Publishing Companies	
National	Her Majesty's Inspectors Universities Grants Committee Standing Conference on University Teaching & Research in the Education of Adults Workers Educational Association	Department of Education and Science University Council on Adult & Continuing Education National Institute of Adult & Continuing Education Association of University Teachers Educational Publishing Companies	Secretary of State for Education & Science Cabinet Members Treasury Electorate
Local	Local Education Authorities Workers Educational Associations	Voluntary Organisations Trade Unions	Council Members of the Education Committee Business and Industry Professional Organisations
Institutional (University)	Head of Department Administrative Staff Lecturing Staff	University Senate Faculty Boards Board of Adult Education Association of University Teachers University Community Vice-Chancellor Secretarial Staff	University Council Caretaking Staff
Classroom	University Adult Education Lecturers	Students	

work:

> There have been changes in the main subjects taught. Local Government and International Relations and Economics no longer figure as prominently in the provision, yielding place to Literature, Art, Archaeology and Local History. This raises the question whether universities should merely respond to demand, or whether they should stimulate demand for subjects that are felt to be important, even if they are not immediately popular. If they were simply to respond to popluar demand, courses on Antiques could figure very largely in ther programmes, but it would be hard to argue that the three "unpopular" subjects mentioned above are not more important at the present time. So change does not always mean a change for the better, and tradition does not always mean an obscurantist attachment to past practices. In the nineteen-thirties "social relevance" was the main criterion of the value of adult education provision. Even after the war, in some of the more traditional areas, Economics and Local Government were the most approved subjects,

while Art, Literature and Music were scorned as "soft options" of no obvious relevance to the emancipation of the working class. Perhaps the pendulum has now swung too far the other way--away from the working class and away from the studies directly related to political problems. This may reflect the mood of a society which is disillusioned with politics, local, national and international. The shift to arts subjects and to a middle class clientele is a change which has taken place at least twice before in the history of adult education. So this is a case of *plus ca change* . . . . It is good that the philistinism of the inter-war years has gone, but it would be sad if adult education lost its commitment to a more just society and to securing fairer shares of our intellectual and cultural wealth for the disadvantaged. (p. 3)

Having re-iterated the philosophy of university liberal adult education, this report went on to claim that the tradition of university adult education is one of openness to change, in which case we must examine changes that have occurred in its curriculum in the decade after Russell, as a response to a number of influences, including the Russell Report, and changes in the funding of university extra-mural departments.

Along with most other providers of adult education, university extra-mural departments were given support by the Russell Committee, as the second largest providers of adult education after the local education authorities The report noted the distinctive role that universities had in adult education:

> Although the universities' inherited function as general providers of liberal education has left them with some superficial and some elementary work, the distinguishing feature of the great bulk of university adult eudcation lies in the intellectual demands it makes on students, enabling them to think and work independently in the best traditions of university scholarship, to meet with the latest results of research, or to appreciate the frameworks of theory within which professional activity is carried on. (Russell Committee, 1973, para. 18)

For the Russell Committee, then, university extra-mural departments have a unique and expanding contribution to make, which it wished to see continued and improved upon. The report recommended that university adult education should be brought visibly and directly into participation in the public system of education, even though it is clearly a "minority concern, though we expect the minority to enlarge rapidly in the next ten years." In particular, universities are well placed to provide liberal studies of the traditional kind, "balancing" studies of an academic nature, "role education" of an academic and liberal type for industry and the professions, industrial education, again of a liberal and academic character, related to human relationships, project or research work, and the development of pioneering work. The significance of the pioneering role of university extra-mural departments in community education has been recognised by others:

> Extra-mural work has the potential for effects much greater than its size would suggest. For it is sheltered by university values and thus free to pioneer. Through a spirit of enquiry and by the co-ordination of resources, extra-mural work can further the understanding, choices and actions of communities. (Fletcher, 1982, p. 63)

A second influence has been the changing financial support and funding structures of university extra-mural work. The post-Russell era can be characterised as one of economic recession--a period when all governments in Britain have been concerned to cut public expenditure, not least on education. Adult education in Britain has never been considered a priority, and although it is only ever been in receipt of about 1% of the education budgets of central and local government, it has been required to make cuts disproportionate to the size of the budget. This period has been characterised by the Universities Council on Adult and Continuing Education (UCACE) (1981), formerly the UCAE, as:

> an unceasing struggle for resources and an eternal vigilance lest hard-won gains were eroded in times of greater financial stringency, and all this because, even at the best of times, adult education has been too often tolerated rather than wholeheartedly accepted and fostered as a normal and essential part of a University's academic role and responsibility. For several years, the Annual Report has been recording the early seismological indications of a worsening financial situation in the public sector and its possible implications for adult education. (p. 3)

To fully grasp the implications of this financial "crisis", it is important to have some degree of understanding of the complexities of the funding of British university adult education. Essentially, there are four main sources of

funds: a direct grant from the Department of Education & Science (DES), local authority grants, a contribution (usually up to 25%) from the Universities Grant Committee (UGC), and student fees. The latter have not always been as significant as they are currently. In the past, income raised through student fees has not been expected to have to cover the economic cost of providing adult education courses. But as other sources of funds have been cut back, the necessity to obtain more money from student fees has forced departments to consider either raising fee levels (and risking cutting back the demand) or finding ways of increasing the number of enrolments. By 1979-80, the UCAE had to record that:

> Student fees now amount to a substantial proportion of a department's income. In time of financial stringency the level of fees charged to students becomes crucial. But to judge the appropriate level is an intricate exercise involving the use of multiple criteria and diverse considerations: the assumptions and conventions of DES grant, the fees charged by other educational bodies, the desirability of recovering from student fees at least the 25% of teaching costs not covered by the DES grant; the need not to deter worthwhile students from enrolling because the cost is beyond their means; the delicate balance at a point where increased fees add substantially to income and do not deter so many students that expected revenue is lost. (p. 5)

The phrase "financial stringency" was commonly used in the UCAE/UCACE Reports (1974) throughout the 1970s and early 1980s: " . . . the onset of greater financial stringency towards the end of the year . . . made relations with local authorities a principal subject for comment" (p. 7). This was the year that the reorganisation of local authority boundaries took effect in Britain:

> One of the least satisfactory aspects of reorganisation was that it took effect at a time of growing financial stringency. Cambridge reported the new County of Norfolk's decision "to impose the full cost of class provision on members of adult classes" and commented that "such stringencies reduce attendances and close classes. The present position is certainly the most serious within the memory of those professionally concerned with the provision of liberal adult education . . . . (UCAE, 1974, p. 8)

In the subsequent years, the financial situation was stated to be "rapidly worsening" and reports from university departments to the UCAE spoke of some of the consequences of this such as increased fees, enforcement of rules about the numbers for minimum enrolments, and cutting back programmes. In 1975-76, the UCAE talked about "swimming against the financial tide":

> For many departments this has been a most difficult year as they faced the harsh realities of the worsening financial situation. The cloth is now so obviously smaller than it was before, and it continues to shrink unpredictably even as the coat is being cut. In consequence, planning, even in the shorter term, becomes immeasurably more difficult. Few if any certainties remain about the scale and availability of resources in the coming months or years. Many local authorities are now withholding or drastically curtailing their customary grants, and some, for reasons of economy, are closing class centres, in which many extension courses are accommodated for some part of each week. (UCAE, 1974, p. 5)

Initially, then, the economic cuts were coming from the local authorities, who typically provide a small but significant part of university extra-mural department budgets: "Departments have had to bear the double threat of a reduction in long-standing LEA grants and the uncertainties of a rapidly rising student fee" (UCAE, 1977, p. 6).

All these financial threats of inflation, increased student fees, and swingeing cuts in grant aid have to be placed in context for adult education was not being singled out for especially harsh treatment, even though it confirmed what Kenneth Lawson (1975) had predicted:

> Adult education is marginal when compared with the compulsory sector of the educational system. It does not *have* to be provided out of public funds and whereas the programmes and courses with a vocational training aim in mind are probably secure, this cannot be said of the mainly recreational and personal development type of activity. In times of financial stringency maybe very vulnerable. (p. 43)

Nevertheless, in spite of all these financial constraints, university adult education was at worst surviving, and at best there was still some degree of expansion for some departments; but the UCAE (1979) had to report:

> It gives no pleasure to assert that by late 1979 university adult education, though often increasingly harrassed by dwindling resources,

> including finances, staffing and accommodation, was the only agency with its course programme and services still almost intact. (p. 3)

There was a definite lack of confidence and increasingly low morale beginning to creep into university adult education departments. The DES funding *seemed* to be assured on level terms, local authorities had probably done their worst, and student fees had been increased, although at probably an acceptable rate: "Almost all universities increased their fees; most can be pleased with their financial judgement in that enrolments also increased. But there were reservations from some departmnets about the hidden costs in social terms" (UCAE, 1980, pp. 5-6). But there was considerable anxiety that there may be cuts, or further cuts, in the funds received from the universities. This sense of foreboding was quite justified, for during 1980-81 universities heard that their grants from the UGC were not going to be maintained, and the government subsequently announced a 9% reduction in its allocation to the UGC over a three-year period. The UGC were asked to decide how these cuts were to be effected, and it was made clear that there should be differential cuts rather than applied uniformly. Some universities were to be cut by very nearly 30%, whereas the more fortunate found their reduction to be around 3%. Thereafter, the relationship between extra-mural departments and their host universities became a major pre-occupation and remained so for the following three years, as departments became involved in discussions of funding, alternative sources of funds, restructuring, reduced staffing levels, and increased fee income. It was clear that many universities required their extra-mural departments to maintain their high level of activity in adult education provision on a reduced budget. As can be seen in Table 1 below, between 1976-77 and 1982-83, there was a loss of 53 UGC or DES funded staff, and half of these losses occurred during 1982-83. There is a strong possibility that the next two *Annual Reports* will show the depletion of university extra-mural staff to be even more drastic, as staff who leave are not replaced and others take advantage of early retirement schemes.

Since the publication of the 1982-83 UCACE *Annual Report*, the financial situation has worsened. To begin with, the UGC have made a further cut of 2.5% to universities. But more seriously for adult education departments was the news that the direct grant received from the DES was not to be maintained. A retrospective cut of 2.5% was announced for 1982-83, and a planned reduction of 14% was announced to be put into effect over a three-year period. In 1983-84, the total DES grant in England was 5.6 million pounds, and this was to be reduced to 4.8 million pounds by 1986-87. Serious as this is financially, alongside it was a more disturbing announcement about changing the formula upon which extra-mural work had been funded for many years, from *input* to *output* factors. In other words, regardless of what their costs are in terms of staff salaries and other recurrent overheads, extra-mural departments will be awarded grants on the basis of their productivity or output. A recent communication to heads of university extra-mural departments from the DES explained this new formula: "The formula will be based on effective student hours. Effective students are defined as those with registered attendance for at least two thirds of the course on which they have embarked" (November 15, 1984). The letter then went on to explain the complex weighting of the grant which will depend on such things as the use of own university full-time staff, length of course, and distance from campus. Without going into this complexity, suffice it to say here that this development is likely to be divisive, as the overall amount of money the DES will have to spend on university adult education will not be increased but decreased. Therefore, if any department benefits from the scheme because they have been productive, this will be at the expense of other departments which have been less productive. There is a real danger that the larger and richer departments will become even larger and richer, and the poor will become poorer. This is likely to affect very seriously the thinking behind what kinds of courses university extra-mural departments should be providing. In other words, there appears to be--however indirect--a move to begin to take some control over the curriculum of university adult education, which government has previously not had. The same trend has been experienced in most other education sectors as well.

Bearing in mind the recommendations of the Russell Report and this outline review of the reductions in funding and financial constraints imposed on British university extra-mural work, we might expect to find some significant

Table 1
University Adult Education Statistics in the United Kingdom Since the Russell Report

Number of:	Beginning of Academic Year										
	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Courses	9419	9568	9624	9665	10040	10232	10707	10569	11134	11719	12384
Students	205416	210371	209636	215426	226493	226370	235987	236558	244174	258832	272795
Staff											
Full-time	483	485.5	494	616[a]	617.5	602.3	603.9	607.1	599.4	591.8	564.8
Part-time	NA	NA	NA	NA	9525	8150[b]	7522[b]	7822	7908	7793	7944

[a]From 1975-1976, full-time staff included administrative as well as academic staff.
[b]Does not include a figure for Bristol, which for 1976-77 was 1,604 and for 1978-79 was 741.

changes in provision in the past decade. If we look at the figures in Table 1, we may be surprised to see a steady growth in provision, with the exception of 1978-79. Although these statistics, like many, must be treated with a certain degree of scepticism as far as their reliability is concerned, we can see that the latest figure given in the table represents a 24% increase over the earliest in terms of number of courses and a 67,000 increase in the number of enrolments. These figures do obscure a number of changes such as the marked decrease in day-release courses, the number of tutorial classes (three years or more in length), an increase in the number of certificated courses, and a growth in the provision of continuing or vocational education courses. Nevertheless these changes have had a marginal effect on the provision of university extra-mural work. The UCAE/UCACE statistics on courses by subject show a remarkable degree of consistency. In Table 2, the ten most popular subjects in 1976-77 are compared with those in 1982-83, and we can see how little things have changed in this short time. Of course, there are changes. As one might expect, there has been a growth in computer studies. These are included in the science category, which grew by 59% in 1981-82 and a further 21% the following year, but even so still made up just over 3% of all courses by subject, being twelth in the rank order behind two other science subjects (geology and zoology). Because of the way the statistics were compiled and categorised before 1976-77, it is not easy to take the comparison very much further back, but even a glance at earlier UCAE *Annual Reports* would confirm this stability in the adult education curriculum in Britain. Right at the beginning of the post-Russell era, it was reported that "It is not easy to detect any significant change in the overall pattern of subjects studied in the country as a whole" (UCAE, 1973, p. 6).

A decade later, financial restraint had made departments look very carefully at the balance of their programme as well as their size, although the balance of the programme involves more than questions about length of courses, but shifts towards post-experience courses, or courses which generate high fee income. Hence the interest in promoting the growth of the non-grant aided sector and self-financing courses of an increasingly specialist nature. The growing diversity had also been noted in terms of universities' "innovations and initiatives, in their different perceptions of new education needs. The individual character of each department responds uniquely to the particular social and environmental circumstances of its area" (UCAE, 1979, p. 6). But none of this was sufficient to make significant changes to the curriculum of university adult education.

One way to explain this is to suggest that changes have been minimal because of the effect economic recession has on innovation. In 1974-75, whilst the UCAE (1975) was able to report that departments':

> willingness to respond to new circumstances, new or unsatisfied needs in the local community, their commitment to exploration, to experimentation, to innovation [is particularly striking,] in a time of financial restriction the

Table 2
Ten Most Popular Subjects in University Extra-mural Courses for 1976-77 and 1982-83

1976-77			1982-83		
Rank	Subject	Percent	Rank	Subject	Percent
1	Language and Literature: English	9.23	1	Language and Literature: English	8.63
2	Archaeology and Ancient History	7.39	2	Visual Arts	7.14
3	Visual Arts	6.79	3	Archaeology and Ancient History	5.64
4	Music	6.34	4	Sociology	5.35
5	Physical Sciences: Geology and Earth Science	5.50	5	Music	5.26
6	History: Local History	5.46	6	History: Local History	5.07
7	History: Political, Social, and Economic	4.23	7	History: Political, Social, and Economic	5.01
8	Sociology	4.08	8	Physical Sciences: Geology and Earth Science	4.32
9	Psychology	3.90	9	Biological Sciences	3.86
10	Religion	4.43	10	Psychology	3.70

> activities most at risk are those of a more experimental kind which are bound to entail some financial risk but which are an essential part of responding to changing educational demands outside the university. (p. 6)

A year later a report from Leeds extra-mural department confirmed this:

> in a period of non-expansion when new ventures can only be launched at the expense of the more traditional, and one kind of course expanded by the contraction of another, the need to examine carefully the criteria by which priorities are established is increased. (UCAE, 1977, p. 6)

The point to make here is that decisions are made as to whether experimental or innovatory courses will be offered as part of the curriculum. The problem is to do with what economists call "opportunity costs": "the preservation of a traditional liberal studies programme created substantial opportunity costs" (Harries-Jenkins, 1983, p. 38). In other words, continued emphasis on the traditional programme has been at the expense of more socially relevant courses for the "disadvantaged" as recommended by the Russell Report, or it means that departments are not engaging in profit-making vocational or continuing education courses. But where does the power lie to make such decisions about the curriculum?

The model we began our analysis with does not help us very much in answering this question, for it largely depends on theories of power. This is not the place to enter into a discussion about the nature and distribution of power and the different forms that it takes, but it is important to recognise that the source of control over the curriculum is largely an ideological rather than empirical issue. The belief that the student, the lecturer, the administrator, the head of department, the vice-chancellor, Her Majesty's Inspector, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, or the Prime Minister is the source of control over the curriculum is an individualistic theory of power. This can take different forms. For example, it might see the power lying in individuals with special qualities, or what Max Weber (1964) called "charismatic authority"; or, it might reside in the office not the person, as in "rational-legal authority" or "traditional authority".

An alternative perspective would see these acting not as powerful individuals but as members of interest groups, such as student unions, teacher unions or professional associations (e.g., Associaton of University Teachers), or groups such as the UCACE. This plurality of competing interest groups tends to assume that power is distributed rather than monopolised, however unevenly across these groups, this preventing any one group from becoming too

powerful. We can recall that this was the assumption behind the democratic model with which we began this analysis.

Neither of these two perspectives are particularly satisfactory. The individualistic perspective cannot account for the way the curriculum remains constant over long periods of time for, if it depended upon individuals, the curriculum would change as these individuals come and go. If the power and control lies in offices rather than individuals, then the perspective cannot help explain this stability in the curriculum offered. We would need to examine how individuals are socialised into these positions of power, which would take us beyond individualistic theories of power into structural ones. The pluralist approach is inadequate because in a sense it side-steps the problem, fails to locate the source of power, and--as we have seen--leaves many gaps in the analysis.

Two other perspectives provide a structural base for the analysis of curriculum control. The first of these is known as the elite theory of power. Originally developed by two Italians, Pareto and Mosca, this theory tends to see two groups in society--a ruling elite and the ruled masses. Those who have power are supposed to be superior in terms of personal qualities or attributes such as organisational abilities, skill and expertise, and other leadership qualities. Later revisions of this elite theory have placed less emphasis on such personal qualities and more on the institutional framework of society, to argue that the hierarchical organisation of social institutions allows a minority to have power over the majority. This theory has considerable attraction since there are many examples in a wide range of social and cultural situations where a united and cohesive minority elite forms to make major decisions. In terms of the curriculum, this theory would see power and control in the hands of an elite whose knowledge, skills, and experience give them the right to make decisions concerning the curriculum, whether they are lay members such as politicians or civil servants in the Department of Education and Science or professions in such bodies as UCACE, the National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE), or the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA).

In spite of its attractiveness, this theoretical perspective has a number of weaknesses, not least is the underlying assumption of the inevitability and universality of ruling elites and their "natural right" to make decisions on the basis of either personal qualities or internal organisation. In a sense, the ruling elite do hold power not because of unquestionable talents or because they are united, but because they themselves make and enforce the rules. The suggestion is that there is an apathetic mass who are controlled and manipulated by the elite, passively accepting propaganda which justifies their elite rule. This is deceptively simple and serves to conceal the subtleness of the nature of power and control. In my previous writing on the "meeting needs" ideology, it was suggested that groups employ the idea as a professional strategy to maintain their own position of power or influence. But the possibility was also raised that, rather than being the source of power and control, these professionals were the servants of power playing a role in the reproduction of labour power, including through the educational curriculum (Armstrong, 1982a, p. 35).

This brings us to the fourth theory of power, which is the one which would best enable us to analyse the continuities in the adult education curriculum for it focuses on the processes of social and cultural reproduction. In this perspective, power resides in the hands of a dominant group which uses it to further its own interests as the ruling class. These interests are in direct conflict with those or those subject to it. Whilst ruling class power has its source in the economic infrastructure, it goes beyond specifically economic relationships being dialectical and will be found in the family, the legal system, and education. In this process of reproduction, the professionals may have a mediating role to play if we accept Poulantza's argument that the ruling class do not rule directly but rather has its interests served through the state which is "relatively autonomous" from the ruling class. The professions can be seen as state employees or servants of power, not powerful agents completely autonomous of the state.

Essentially, what is being argued here is that we have to be alert to the possibility that the curriculum is being shaped by a ruling class because through this, and education in general, it will reinforce the power and privilege of its own positions. The writings of both Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser are particularly helpful here, especially the notion of

"hegemony" which can help us to understand the taken-for-grantedness and tability that we find in the curriculum of university extra-mural departments. Cultural hegemony refers to the formation and change of consciousness, which is not merely the product of ideas but the result of a total social process which allows the ruling class to exert a dominant influence over the ideas of other classes, who then often hold ideas and beliefs and values which are contrary to their own class interests but accept them as "common sense." Thus,

> hegemony acts to "saturate" our very consciousness, so that the educational, economic and social world we see and interact with, and the commonsense interpretations we put on it, becomes the world *tout court*, the only world. Hence hegemony refers . . . . to an organised assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are *lived*. It needs to be understood on a different level than "mere opinion" or "manipulation." (Apple, 1979, p. 5)

Thus, hegemony--as part of the ruling class theory of power--is a crucial concept in the analysis of curriculum control. What any empirical analysis from this perspective will need to do is to make

> the curriculum focus found in schools problematic so that their latent ideological content can be uncovered. Questions about the selective tradition such as the following need to be taken quite seriously. Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it organised and taught in this way? To this particular group? The mere act of asking these questions is not sufficient, however. One is guided, as well, by attempting to link these investigations to competing conceptions of social and economic power and ideologies. In this way, one can begin to get a more concrete appraisal of the linkages between economic and political power and the knowledge *made available* (and *not* made available) to students. (Apple, 1979, p. 7)

Although it was beyond the scope of this paper to provide such an empirical analysis, hopefully the questions that need to be asked are now much more critical than those with which we began the analysis of the curriculum, and that the need to make problematic notions of teacher control and "meeting needs" has become clear, and that the analysis of any curriculum including that of university extra-mural departments must take account of the influence of hegemony.

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TRAINING WOMEN MANAGERS

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Introduction

Although women constitute, at present, less than 10% of managers in the U.K. (Cleverdon, 1980), during the last few years there has been considerable attention paid, both in the U.S. and in this country, to the training needs of this group. This is partly because there has been a general awareness that the increasing numbers of working women--37% in 1961; 47% in 1979 (Department of Employment, 1979)--means that the special training and developmental needs of this group have to be identified and partly because women in positions of responsibility have a higher visibility than the female working population in general.

The term, women managers, embraces a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous group. It is composed not only of women who have risen to senior positions and held these posts for many years but also of women who have risen from fairly subordinate positions to obtain a post of some responsibility but who will never make the top. In addition, there is the new generation of young graduate high flyers who have set their sights upon the most senior jobs. There is also a further group known as "aspiring" or "potential" women managers who have not yet achieved a position of responsibility but would like to do so. Although each of these sub-groups has particular training needs, they face common difficulties (as well as opportunities) which special training may help obviate.

What Are Their Characteristics?

The characteristics of women managers have been of interest to researchers for a number of years and a number of studies have been carried out. In terms of their family background, Almquist (1974) and Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz (1970) found that women who chose non-traditional careers (such as management) were raised in families where the mother worked full-time. Hennig and Jardim (1977) have shown that it is important for successful women managers to have had a close relationship with a father who encouraged non-female stereotypical behaviour and self-concepts. Place (1979), in a study of senior female managers in New Zealand, found that although most of their mothers were not employed outside the home, they had successful fathers and both parents were considered to be supportive of their career choice.

Studies of "pioneers" (women whose career goals were in predominately masculine fields) have shown that this group were more likely than "traditional" women to marry later, to have fewer children, to have them later in life, and to return to work earlier after their birth (Rossi, 1967; Almquist & Angrist, 1970; Henning & Jardim, 1977). Recent studies (Brown, 1979; Harlan, 1978) confirm that women managers are only a third to a half as likely as male managers to be married and less likely to have children.

The most recent study of the characteristics of women managers in the U.S. confirm these findings (Korn Ferry International, 1982). Their survey of three hundred top women managers found that only 49% were married (compared with 95% of male managers), a quarter had never married and a fifth were divorced or separated. Only a third of this group had children, compared at 97% of men in equivalent jobs. Gutek, Nakamura, and Nieva (1981) have suggested that women managers may choose to avoid the conflicts and problems of dual career relationships by remaining single.

This has led to the popular and possibly stereotypical picture of women in middle and senior managerial posts as dedicated and single-minded "career women." There is some truth in the picture of older, established senior women as "Queen Bees" who have had to fight their way through the organisation and as a result may regard themselves as something apart and may jealously guard their uniqueness by discouraging or even excluding younger aspiring women managers. Instead of easing the path of their younger women colleagues to more senior positions by acting as their mentor, they may show active hostility and resentment. This is a particular difficulty for the new class of graduate entrants to management who may be seen as a privileged group who have had it "easy".

Barriers to the Emergence of Women Managers

This group has emerged primarily as the result of the increasing number of girls in higher education. Traditionally girls have preferred arts/social science options and have rejected science/technology and numeracy specialisms which lead to a range of jobs in traditionally masculine fields. They have also tended towards the caring professions and rejected the hard world of business and commerce. However, there is some indication that this view is changing slowly. In the Department of Management Sciences at UMIST there has been an increasing number of girl students over the last five to ten years and the figure now stands at about 40% of the total intake. In addition, the girls tend to get a disproportionate number of Firsts and special prizes awarded for outstanding performance during their degree studies. This trend is confirmed by figures produced by the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) which has shown women taking up to 40% of places on Business School courses (Fox, 1977; Robertson, 1978).

Does this mean that there is likely to be a concomitant increase in the numbers of women managers emerging from this group during the next decade or two? Some comparative research on the attitudes and values of male and female management students at UMIST has shown that the girls see the successful career woman as their most favoured life choice with the boys favouring the traditional role of husband and father who also has a career. This suggests that the stereotypical pattern of the unmarried single-minded career women will be perpetuated in the present generation. But this view has to be moderated by further research amongst this group which indicated that the girls saw themselves as following (reluctantly) the more traditional pattern of marriage and family with a career fitted in when and how they were able. Given their initial high ambition and wish for success and independence, this group is faced with some hard choices in trying to reconcile traditional roles with the less traditional option of career success allied with marriage and children.

Once ambitious women enter organizations they face a number of barriers to the achievement of their aspirations. A recent study (Ashridge Management College, 1980) identified three major factors which may inhibit their progress. These are company systems and practices, the attitudes of men managers in influential positions, and women's own attitudes and behaviour.

The company systems which may bar women from responsible positions operate at two levels: the entry level and the progression to managerial jobs. At the entry level, women are likely to be less well qualified than men and as a result may be excluded from certain positions (Stein, 1976). Personnel systems such as selection may be used to inhibit rather than facilitate the progress of women, and the "career path" factor which is designed to fit the life pattern of men rather than women ensures that women are prevented from progressing through the organisation (Ashridge, 1980). This finding is confirmed by Snell, Glucklich, and Povall (1981) who identified "jobs and promotion" criteria acting as barriers to women as well as attitudes to women at work and structural, organisational and industrial factors.

The "male manager" culture and its accompanying bias against women in both the selection and treatment of female managers has been the subject of a number of studies. Dipboye, Fromkin, and Wilback (1975) found significant effects of applicant sex (favouring males) in management selection decisions of both university students and professional recruiters. Differential treatment of women has been reported in selection (Fidell, 1970; Shaw, 1972), in promotion policies (Day & Stogdill, 1972; Kanter, 1977) and in segregation into "women's jobs" (Alvarez, Lutterman, et al., 1979). Rosen and Jerdee (1973), in a study of *Harvard Business Review* subscribers, found a bias against women in management promotion and development opportunities.

One possible explanation of this bias is that it is assumed that women lack the qualities required of a manager, such as aggression and leadership qualities (Bond & Vinacke, 1961; Megaree, 1969). In an early study that sought managerial opinions about women executives, Bowman, Worthy, and Greyser (1965) showed that male respondents agreed that women are "temperamentally unfit for management". Hunt in a later study (1975) has shown that a sample of men managers attribute the cause of so few women rising to senior positions to women themselves inasmuch as they are not career conscious and that the break in their working lives (to have children) retards their

progress. This attitude may account for the decision of many women managers not to have children (Korn Ferry International, 1982).

The question of whether women actually wish to succeed was investigated during the late 60s and early 70s by Horner (1968; 1972). Her results indicated that female students had "a fear of success", and she comments that:

> Unusual excellence in women was clearly associated for them with loss of femininity, social rejection, personal and societal destruction, or some combination of the above. (Horner, 1972)

This interpretation was challenged by Feather and Raphaelson (1974) who suggested that the results showed sex role stereo-typing rather than fear of success. Recent research (Popp & Muths, 1982) has further challenged Horner's findings by studying adult employees rather than students. These results showed that females were not more afraid of success than males.

Do Women Managers Need Special Training?

Assuming that there exists a body of women who would like to become successful managers, the question which then arises is whether there is a need for special training to assist such women to overcome any barriers which might exist.

In the United States the development of training for women managers is well advanced. This development was pioneered by the Women's Colleges of Simmons, Wellesley and Bryn Mawr who first designed management courses exclusively for women (Simmons College, 1978; Tidball, 1976). Interest in this field has led to a proliferation of popular books with titles such as *The New Executive Woman: A Guide to Success* (Williams, 1977); *Making Do in Management: A Behavioural Approach with Women Executives* (Fenn, 1978); *The Landau Strategy: How Working Women Win Top Jobs* (Landau & Bailey, 1980).

These books and numerous others may be described as How-To-Do-It manuals and purport to give advice and guidance on becoming successful women executives and managers by paying close attention to such matters as dress, business entertaining, and office politics. They are prescriptive and largely unsupported by research evidence to give weight to their assertions or by the experience of designing and running training courses. However, their popularity suggests that women feel a need for advice and assistance in negotiating the hazards of organisational life, a need which may be filled more effectively by well designed training programmes.

The possible objectives of management training courses for women have been described by a number of writers, but there appears to have been some confusion between objectives related to internalised attitudinal change and objectives concerned with externally directed behavioural change. A failure to distinguish between the two kinds of objectives means that the training activities needed to bring about behaviour change may not be clearly articulated.

An example of this is the frequently expressed need for women managers to "increase their self-confidence" (Hay, 1980) and "raise their self-esteem" (Heinen, McGlauchlin, Legeros, & Freeman, 1975), but this is not usually accompanied by a description of the training needed to bring about this change in self-perception. The training required has to be described and designed with these attitudinal objectives in mind, but the two are not usually linked. In addition, evaluation methods need to be included to see if attitude change has been achieved.

It is clear that training for women managers is still at the developmental stage, although there has been a sufficient quantity of training carried out both in the U.S. and this country to be able to assert with some confidence that there exist some forms of training which have been validated as appropriate for both prospective women managers and those who have obtained some position of responsibility.

Training for Women Managers

Included amongst the most popular forms of training is assertiveness training. This seeks to make women more assertive by helping them to distinguish between aggressive, assertive and non-assertive behaviour and to apply these concepts by using rehearsal and role-play to bring about a change in behaviour. Although this training was not developed exclusively to meet the needs of women (Smith, 1975; Alberti & Emmons, 1970) it has been adopted enthusiastically and has become one of the most and become one of the most frequently incorporated elements in women managers' development programmes. Interestingly, men managers

have come also to recognise the usefulness of these techniques in their working lives, as they not only build confidence but supply a range of coping skills which may be utilised in a variety of environments.

The importance of career planning and self-assessment for women managers at every stage of their careers has been recognised by a number of writers (Heinen et al., 1975; Higginson & Quick, 1975; Christen & Syptek, 1976; Harlen & Weiss, 1980). The re-evaluation of life experience through attendance at Women's Biography seminars are particularly useful either for women in the early stages of their careers, or those returning to employment after a break for children, or for those contemplating a change in career direction. The value of these semiars lies in the opportunity they give women to consider career goals within the context of their total life experience and to use this to set realistic short-term and long-term goals which are in harmony with their current personal circumstances and work aspirations.

In many training programmes emphasis is placed upon a need for the acquisition of particular management skills and knowledge. Included amongst these are leadership training and team-building skills (Heinen et al., 1975) and the development of skills in finance, budgeting and planning, and policy-making as well as risk-taking skills (Hay, 1980). Particular attention has been given to the need for training in understanding what is required to get on in an organisation. The importance of a sponsor or mentor who provides a role model has been frequently emphasised (Bucher & Stelling, 1977; White, 1977). This person is able to assist in giving visibility to the protege and provides opportunities for developing important political and strategic skills.

Linked with this is the importance of recognising the function of networks. (Smith, 1981; Stern, 1981). These groups of people whom one knows and is able to use when needed, whether this is to inform them that one is in the market for a new job opportunity or to have a shoulder to cry on when things go wrong. Women feel an extraordinary distaste for using others and shrink from what may appear to be exploitation and manipulation of personal contacts. However, the importance of "old boy networks" both formal (clubs and groups) and informal (e.g., former school friends) has long been accepted by men as a legitimate way to knowledge, power, and influence whether it is asking for favours, inside information, or free advice.

The most important aspect of networks that women need to understand is that they are informal self-help groups and that they are reciprocal. That is, today I help you, tomorrow you help me. Once this is understood, much of the guilt at exploiting others disappears, and these groups can be valued as legitimate sources of power and influence.

The issue of women-only groups, whether for networking or more particularly for women managers' development and training, is one which has been hotly debated (Langrish, 1980; Larwood, Wood, & Interlied, 1978). Briefly, the arguments against single sex training (women only) are primarily of three kinds. The first of these is that the real world of industry and commerce is peopled by both men and women and therefore any management training for women must reflect this diversity. The second argument is that to suggest that women managers have special needs which are different from men managers and can only be met by women-only training is to label women-only courses as different and therefore inferior to general management training. The third argument is that if women are to learn to work with men as colleagues and peers the best way to do this is to experience working with them as equals on management training programmes.

Convincing as these arguments appear to be, they collapse beneath the weight of research evidence which shows that women managers are at a definite disadvantage in mixed training groups and that there are significant advantages to be gained from women only groups.

In mixed groups, a women is seen as marginal and is allocated one of four possible roles: mother, seductress, pet or iron maiden (Kanter, 1977). She may be seen as the token woman and not be taken seriously; her presence heightens both male and female stereotypical behaviour, and the men may unconsciously put pressure upon her to defer to the dominant group (men) and show gratitude for inclusion in their exclusive group. Finally, there is considerable evidence to show that she experiences difficulties in making her contributions heard, may be frequently interrupted, and may have her confidence undermined.

By contrast, women only groups provide a supportive, non-competitive and non-threatening environment in which to try out new

behaviours. Learning is accelerated by the creation of an atmosphere of trust in which it is possible to risk "getting it wrong". The content of courses includes topic which are of special importance to women, including strategies to cope with overt and covert discrimination, and understanding company norms and company culture in relation to promotion opportunities. Women may be deficient in their knowledge of specialist areas such as finance and technology and, although men may also have similar needs, these subjects can be presented and handled in all women's groups in a way which will promote learning.

All women training groups for women managers encourage the learning of the special skills required to be successful by ensuring that they are not blocked by male/female process issues that may dominate mixed groups and block women's learning opportunities. Women only training groups have their greatest value at the beginning of management careers and may not be needed once the women have acquired the necessary coping skills. They are then ready to join mixed training groups.

Many of the training elements discussed above were included in the women only management development programme for women in management which has been developed in the Department of Management Sciences at UMIST (Langrish & Smith, 1981; Smith, 1983). Four broad areas of training were identified. These were: women's issues, management knowledge, personal and interactive skills, and career planning. Each of these were presented at an increasing level of complexity over the three separate weeks of courses spaced at intervals over a six-month period. Between each week's course, the women on the programme returned to their companies to carry out a supervised half-day per week, in-company project. Although evaluation is difficult (see Langrish & Smith, 1981; Smith, 1983), the indications are that the programme has had a positive effect upon the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour of participants and upon their careers.

Men Managers' Training

Although stress has been laid in this article upon training for women managers, the importance of the role of men managers in increasing women managers' job opportunities cannot be over-estimated. A number of writers have suggested that there is a considerable need for training for men managers, although it is acknowledged that it may be difficult to persuade men of this need and for them to be prepared to participate in such training. Huffmire (1976) and Macdonald (1979) have identified a need for awareness training for men to assist women to realise their potential and that these should include an examination of commonly prevailing myths about women managers. Kozoll (1973) suggests that there should be seminars to identify negative reactions to women in professional roles and to identify work strategies to combat them. Herbert and Yost (1978) emphasise the need to educate male managers in the need for development programmes for women to prepare them for management responsibility.

Although in many important respects men managers hold the key to the entry of women managers to positions of increased responsibility and seniority, it may be women managers' task to ensure that opportunities are created and utilised. Men have to be persuaded not only that it is right, in the moral sense, but also that it makes good business sense for them to do so. Any good manager realises that it is against the best interests of the organisation to waste human resources and that women managers must show that they have the potential to be successful. A partnership between men and women managers will create a climate of opinion and environment in which women managers can flourish.

Conclusion

It is clear that women managers are severely disadvantaged in attempting to fulfill their potential and achieve their ambitions. As company systems and men managers' attitudes and beliefs are difficult to change, the current emphasis on women managers' training would appear to be the most productive arena on which to concentrate.

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STAFF DEVELOPMENT COURSES IN UK UNIVERSITIES FOR THE CONTINUING EDUCATION FIELD

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Introduction

With the adoption of the term "continuing education" in the UK came a widening of the scope of the provision hitherto made in the field of education of adults. In the 1982 Advisory Council for Adult Continuing Education (ACACE) document, "Continuing Education: From Policies to Practice," the Chairman of ACACE describes "a broadly conceived system of continuing education (for adults) to which to whole of the post-compulsory education sector would actively and recognisably contribute."

This widening of the scope of the resulting breadth brings interesting challenges (and horrendous logistical problems) to those involved in staff development in the continuing education field. If this new breadth is accepted by those training staff in the continuing education field, it implies a concern with staff development across the whole of the post-compulsory education sector, i.e., staff working in institutions catering for those over the age of 16 which includes: (a) school sixth forms, or their equivalent (academic education, (b) colleges of further education (academic, technical/vocational education), (c) tertiary colleges (academic, technical, vocational and adult nonvocational), (d) adult and youth services, (e) higher education institutions (polytechnics, institutes and colleges of education, universities), (f) prison service, (g) armed services, (h) voluntary organisations with an adult education brief and institutions dealing with academic technical, vocational (including professional) and leisure education. There are (at least) four government departments involved with one or more of these institutions, i.e., Department of Education and Science, Department of Employment, Home Office, Ministry of Defense.

To approach staff development work from an institutional basis is a complicated one and not necessarily an effective one in the long-term, although it may provide short-term immediate answers to particular, specific teaching matters.

Background to Recent Developments

With the last 15 years plus, the post-compulsory (over 16 years) system of education in the UK has undergone massive shocks engendered by: economic and social factors; recession and growing unemployment rates, especially among young adults; demographic factors, such as the working through of the sixties birth bulge and then the falling birth rate; attendant organisational changes for the education system, such as the stretching and contraction of educational institutions and the formation of a new organization in 1974, the Manpower Services Commission, with an influential input into the post-compulsory education sector. (More of this later)

In 1977, the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education was established, with funding from the Government it was given a remit which included the consideration of how best to co-ordinate programmes of training and retraining and schemes of continuing education provided by diverse bodies, so as to optimize the use of resources and open to each adult learner the course most suited to that person's needs.

In a document published in 1979, "Towards Continuing Education", ACACE gave its view that, in order to promote the development of future policies and priorities with full regard to the concept of education as a process continuing throughout life, there was a need for policy co-ordination between government departments responsible for employment, training, and social life, i.e., the Department of Education and Science, Department of Employment, Home Office, Department of Health and Social Security, Ministry of Defense, Department of Environment. The purpose of continuing education is seen as being of two kinds: (a) the vocational type--designed for a specific occupational purpose, (b) the general type--designed for a wide educational purpose.

Hitherto the vocational type of continuing education, has been undertaken by colleges of further education, polytechnics, universities (to some extent), and other institutions of higher

education. The general type of continuing education has been undertaken by adult and community education service, youth service, universities and schools sixth forms, and other groups.

However, it is difficulty to do other than draw very general divisions in the types of continuing education work undertaken, because of the complexities of the field. The same courses in these institutions may be put to differing use and purpose according to the motivation of the students attending, but in the main there is a rough balance between education provided for its own sake and education provided for occupational purposes. However, with the economic situation, the changes in government policy, and the advent of the Manpower Services Commission on the educational scene, the balance appears to have been rapidly changing both in the field of education for the 16-19 age group (or young adults) and in the education provided for mature adults towards the latter emphasis.

Three Main Areas of Change

The Advent of Tertiary Education

There are at present 18 tertiary colleges in the UK, but 34 schemes have been approved for implementation. A tertiary college is an institution which is the sole provider of academic studies for 16 to 19 year olds, of further education provision and of adult education provision within its region, and which caters to both full-time and part-time studies. It is intended to be comprehensive provision for students of varying abilities, studying at different levels.

Hitherto, school teachers dealing with the academic studies of the 16-19 and the lecturers intending to teach technical and vocational subjects to students in colleges of further education have done their teacher training in separate establishments. School teachers have trained in university departments of education or colleges of education and polytechnic departments of education. Adult education tutors have generally not undergone formal, lengthly courses of teacher training but rather, if they have trained at all, have undertaken informal short courses provided by the institution for whom they were contracted to teach. (They may officially have trained in schools or have full-time occupations not in the education field). College of further education lecturers have either attended the four colleges of education established to train technical teachers or have attended courses (in their nearest polytechnics) validated by the colleges of education for technical teachers. There are of course examples of university departments training both school and further education lecturers, but these are few and far between. The results have been that staff in these three sectors have, at best, a hazy notion of the work of the others and the scope of their course provision and, at worst, are almost completely ignorant of it, with a possible few stereotyped views and misconceptions of what the others do.

When institutional changes such as tertiary colleges are mooted and planned, there have inevitably been delays and confusions at the initial states arising from the uncertainties, misconceptions and even hostile attitudes between the staff and the three sectors.

The Manpower Services Commission (MSC)

This commission has made increasing inroads into the education provision of the 16-19 age group, and looks as though it may be set to do the same in the adult education field. It is the Government's intention, announced in the past year, to allocate 40% of monies for non-advanced further education to the MSC, instead of channeling the money through the local education authorities for further education work, as hitherto. The MSC operates under the aegis of the Department of Employment and not the Department of Education and Science.

For the 16-19 age group, the MSC's latest scheme is that of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS). This scheme has national coverage, has particular labour market goals, and its curricula are 95% vocationally oriented. That is not to say that that is all it has: it does include personal self-development elements in courses, e.g., residential outward-bound-type courses where students can learn such skills as rock-climbing or sailing, and student self-assessment methods, with individual profiling. The YTS and similar youth training courses, such as community industry schemes, are not actually operated by the MSC. The MSC "buys in" the courses from further education colleges or private agencies, such as commercial businesses or industrial firms, to provide the vocational training and the elements of general education.

However, staff in these areas are not necessarily experienced in the handling and education of young people, many of whom may be of low educational achievements.

Adult Education

Hitherto, the bulk of this provision has been non-vocational leisure courses and courses for special groups, e.g., industrial education for trade unions, or work with the socially and educationally disadvantaged, e.g., immigrants or adult illiterates. However, the current emphasis in post-compulsory education provision is very much one of occupational purpose and relevance to the economy, and the adult education sector has not escaped this emphasis, as can be seen from the following examples.

The DES has introduced the PICKUP programme (Professional Industrial Commercial Updating). It consists of projects, usually for two years, aimed at helping mid-career updating or upgrading for people at all levels of skill. The projects can be designed to suit the needs of either the employer or employee. The programme is concerned primarily with (a) the contributions which can be made to adult vocational updating by further education and higher education staff and (b) the contributions to curriculum development in order to improve and facilitate training responsiveness to employer's needs. The MSC has introduced the Open Technology scheme. This is a similar programme to PICKUP and also is intended to improve the responsiveness of training provision to local employment needs. It currently focuses on open learning projects for technical and supervisory and management levels; the projects can cover initial training, retraining and updating training. It includes the production of package learning materials and information about open learning materials, e.g., the Grimsby scheme for refrigeration engineers, and the Austin Rover car manufacturer's computer-assisted learning packages.

In 1983 the MSC indicated its intention to move further into what it described as an Adult Training Strategy. It is not envisaged that MSC will provide the widespread opportunities for adults to update or acquire skills and knowledge, but it will aid and fund job-related programmes and provide funding for individuals to attend relevant courses. It also intends to aid provision for unemployed mature adults wishing to attend work preparation training.

Implications for Staff Development

If it is the Government's firm intention to have a coherent pattern of vocational education for the UK and to co-ordinate provision of this across the interested government departments and the agencies involved, then there emerge certain implications for the education and training of the staff teaching either in educational institutions or organisations which have an educational brief for the 16-19 age group and adults. Continuing education is concerned with all forms of education, whether vocational or non-vocational, formal or informal. Quite apart from the teaching profession, there is a growing awareness among personnel in, for example, the health service and in the statutory and voluntary social services of the need for further training in communicating and dealing with adults.

Staff development courses need themselves to reflect the principles of continuing education. A number of aspects in which they could do so include the following.

Coherence and Coordination

If staff development is approached from an institutional basis, i.e., training staff for the different sectors on separate courses, then this is unlikely to aid staff in their understanding of the different sectors and their particular roles, aims and objectives or to aid staff in developing easier routes and paths between the sectors in order to promote a greater degree of coherence and coordination of the education system. Although to train staff in compartmentalised fashion may provide short-term immediate answers to particular and specific teaching matters, it is not necessarily an effective method in the long term, either in terms of the national general pattern of education, of the institutions, or of the individual staff themselves.

Cross Discipline

Staff Development courses may take either a thematic approach or a modular approach to the material they cover. Both methods have their own advantages. However, the modular approach can more easily help individuals to

build their own particular package of training to suit their professional needs. Such courses may have a common core, or foundation studies elements, and on completion of those the staff can choose particular options from a range of courses provided by the training institution at which the student is studying. The courses chosen need not necessarily be confined to the course on which the student is primarily enrolled. For example, if a student is doing a course on the management of education he/she an extend or update their particular subject discipline interests by studying curriculum topics in mathematics, computers, science, or language and the arts.

Format

Courses could be "stepped" so staff can build on qualifications they already possess, instead of having to undertake further studies as if these were entirely new and independent. Many staff development courses are designed as complete and unique entities in themselves and are not linked to further courses, even at the same institution. If formal qualification courses were linked and stepped, e.g., along the lines of x units for a teaching certificate, y units for a diploma and z units for a master's degree, then students could build up their units to obtain the qualifications they wanted, and also could store these, within certain time constraints, for future building-on when they wished to progress further. Such a scheme could operate in a similar fashion to that of the Open University (OU).

Cross-Credit

Similarly, courses at the differing levels of education studies could be linked between institutions as well as within institutions. At present, there are few institutions which award credits or recognise part-course study at other institutions. One exception is the arrangement between the OU and other universities to recognise each others' undergraduate courses as being equivalent in "measures" of study to their own. In the staff development field usually no credits are given for study or similar courses at other institutions. If members of the education profession move to another part of the country in mid-course, they usually have to start a similar level course completely afresh at another institution.

Access

The question of access to courses is an important one for staff in the post-compulsory field. Because of the differing modes of institutional and organisational operation in the post-compulsory education sector, there are problems in mounting courses as regards timing, location, modes of study, and entry requirements. Courses need to be mounted at times to suit the staff at convenient locations, in formats/modes suitable for the programme, and with flexible entry requirements. Many courses in educational studies stipulate the possession of certain qualifications for entry, e.g., a degree, a teaching certificate, and a minimum period of full-time teaching experience. For staff working in the further education sector and in the adult and youth sectors, such academic qualifications may not necessarily be the most appropriate to their fields, with emphasis being given to other attributes and qualities, e.g., technical skill certificates or personal qualities. It would be helpful to such staff if other qualifications could be counted in lieu of formal academic awards, and credit could be given for part-time teaching experience and/or other relevant employment experience.

Conclusion

The view which appears to be generally prevalent in the UK is that the social, economic, and technical skills required by an individual can no longer be encompassed within a set period of years of formal education, and that the nations' education system will in the future need to be sufficiently flexible to allow men and women to initiate or return to study at whatever stage is appropriate in their professional or personal life. In order to achieve this degree of flexibility the barriers which exist between different sectors of the post-compulsory education system need to be broken down. The staff operating in such a system need to be able to facilitate responses to a myriad of needs and the staff development schemes operating for their benefit should reflect these new emphases and practices.

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STATE INTERVENTION IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: A BRITISH CASE STUDY

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Introduction

What is dealt with in this paper is one aspect of the state's attempt to intervene in employment patterns by means of education/training initiatives. The paper deals essentially with one specific initiative directed at the young--the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) --which can be seen as one form of action within a developing strategy towards the unemployed as a whole. Its relevance to the field of adult education is that system which has succeeded that in which Y.O.P. existed includes specific proposals for the development of strategies to deal with the adult unemployed. The *New Training Initiative* (Manpower Services Commission, 1981), launched as the lastest comprehensive policy in this field, has not yet developed its adult strategy in detail, but by looking at the debate which surrounded a significant national initiative in the youth field it may be possible to isolate some of the issues which will--or maybe already do--impinge upon the work of adult educators and their institutions.

It is now a commonplace that the rate of economic, social, and particularly technological change calls for radial reappraisal of educational and economic policy in respect of employment. The international currency of such thinking can be seen in the plethora of studies and collections dealing with such "problems" emerging from international bodies such as UNESCO, OECD, and the EEC. There appears to be the acknowledgement that the traditional cyclical explanations are no longer adequate to explain the inexorable rise of unemployment even at the peaks of the cycle. The resultant structural unemployment cannot be solved by growth alone, as technological innovation, the decline in labour intensive industries, and the emergence of capital intensive industry may create greater productivity without creating jobs. Certainly, within such a scenario the distribution of the types of work is likely to change from manufacturing to service, and in the face of exponential change and social uncertainty it may be assumed that individuals may need to change jobs or radically adapt working patterns during a lifetime. As a consequence of such thinking, economic and perhaps social survival may depend upon the adaptability and flexibility of the workforce.

It is at this point that the other powerful ideological factor enters the debate--the value of human capital. The seductive appeal of such a theory is captured by Karabel and Halsey's (1977) comments on Schultz's original *Investment in Human Capital:*

> His message was a simple one: the process of acquiring skills and knowledge through education was not to be viewed as a form of consumption, but rather as a productive investment . . . . As Schultz made clear . . . investment in human capital not only increases individual productivity, but, in so doing, also lays the technical base of the type of labour force necessary for rapid economic growth. (p. 12)

Its lasting appeal is instanced in the final sentence of the Introduction to the Holland Report which established the training scheme considered in this essay:

> In such a situation we have little doubt that an investment in helping young people to acquire relevant skills and knowledge, abilities and attitudes will yield handsome returns and should rank high in the country's priorities. (MSC, 1977, p. 7)

This faith in a direct connection between education/training and economic performance still has great influence on thinking related to policy, and in 1973, when the Labour Government announced the establishment of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), general approval was forthcoming--even from the sociological press.

> The ten strong Manpower Services Commission, with an annual budget of 155 million is to start running the country's public employment and training services next year when in what amounts to a first tentative step towards a national manpower policy. And not before time. (Taylor, p. 283)

The fact that for the current year the MSC budget is in excess of 2 billion pounds best reflects the scale of expansion of this new institution.

It is not intended to outline the historical rise of the Manpower Services Commission; such accounts may be found elsewhere (see Legge, 1982; CCCS, 1981) but merely to note that the body is located within the Department of Employment of national level, not the Department of Education and Science. It operates via Area Manpower Boards which, although including representatives of the educational agencies are primarily populated by those with industrial and commercial connections. Finally, the administration of the organisation--including the dissemination of policy and practice decisions and the evaluation of work in progress--rests with staff largely drawn from backgrounds of occupational guidance or narrow skills training. In short there has emerged an immensely powerful institution which has increasingly influenced the work of all sectors of education but whose accountability lies outside the education sector.

Why the Young?

Before describing the Youth Opportunities Programme in detail, it is worth considering why the needs of the young have emerged as critical. Since the outset MSC has worked with adults, usually providing a limited number of training places in special Skill Centres, aimed at re-skilling or up-skilling adults in traditional types of work; by providing training via Training Opportunities Schemes (TOPS) in education institutions; or more recently in forms of task force project teams under the Community Programme. However, the percentage allocation of resources to adults has contracted over the years in favour of the young.

Firstly, referring back to the human capital debate, it is logical to concentrate efforts on the seed corn of society--those on whom the future depends. Secondly, as unemployment continued to rise, it became apparent that the young were being disproportionately affected. As the recession bit, industry recruited less, retained only its most productive workers, and social changes released mature women back into the labour market--a new pool of labour often attractive to employers for reasons ranging from maturity to low costs. Thirdly, and significantly, there was a definite sense of the danger of creating an alienated generation of youth with little commitment to current society or its values. In 1975, writing about the contemporary position of ethnic minority youth in the labour market, the *New Society* editorial read:

> What sort of lives and jobs are today's teenagers looking forward to? And, if they can't get them, with what sort of accommodation will they react? (New Society, 1975, p. 58)

One possible answer to these rhetorical questions can be cited in the youth riots of Bristol, Brixton and Toxteth, Liverpool in the years following the comment. It cannot be known the exact extent to which high unemployment among youth urban blacks contributed to these outbursts, but the "moral panic" surrounding the potential disaffection of youth must be constantly recognised. As Rees remarks: "Collectively, demoralisation, it was feared, would manifest in political extremism and social disorder" (Rees & Atkinson, 1982, p. 17).

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It is against this background that the MSC work should be seen. In a very few years their methods of work have varied enormously. There have been direct attempts to create and retain jobs within industry by means of direct subsidy, and a similar scheme still exists. However, its main thrust has been through providing periods of work experience, predicated in the main on the double bind of the young being unable to get work through lack of experience and consequently being unable to gain the experience required to get work, and so on. The early initiatives in this sphere were brought together in a coherent plan outlined in the Holland Report and for our purposes consisting of four types of scheme: Work Experience on Employer's Premises; Project-based Work Experience; Training Workshops; and Community Service.

All types of scheme were to contain planned work experience, life and social skills, counselling, and some limited further education/training. As their titles suggest, the nature of the experience varied by type of scheme; the Project Schemes concentrated on major (often socially valuable) enterprise such as cleaning canals and restoring churches, Training Workshops were established to simulate "real work" environments and were initially expected to operate on a commercial basis. The Community Service projects were to be based in agencies such as nurseries, hospitals, and voluntary organisations. These schemes were expected to

last for up to one year for the trainees; whereas the Work Experience on Employer's Premises was expected to last for approximately six months. Other variations existed, but for the purpose of this paper these basic forms of provision provide the background against which the research was carried out.

Before considering the research, it is necessary to consider the varying criticisms that have co-existed with the work of the MSC and have developed during recent years. Firstly, in terms of its practical application, it has been attacked on three fronts: the failure of work experience to provide more than cheap labour as an indirect subsidy to industry; the inability of further education providers to cope with a new clientele and new "subject" areas; and the tendency to approach the young unemployed as socially inadequate--the traditional "deficit" model of working with the "disadvantaged".

The use of trainees within industry as cheap labour is well documented, and trade union reaction to the schemes was specific. The fixed allowance to a trainee was set below negotiated rates for employees and apprentices and, therefore, constituted cheap labour. The use of trainees to fill gaps in the regular workforce set up a substitution effect, thus generating unemployment among the full-time workers. The use of YOP to evaluate the young for full-time jobs often postponed the filling of any such posts for up to six months. In some cases schemes had simply used trainees as extra help with little systematic training or structured work experience. Finally, many young people had expectations raised by YOP only to have their hopes wrecked by subsequent unemployment.

The youth training schemes, because they were national in scale and had to cater for the entire range of ability, gave opportunities for further education/training to a new clientele, one which had never before appeared in the tertiary sector. This created considerable problems, not least of which was the lack of understanding of what precisely the content of work should be. Additionally, there is evidence that the location of work in formal institutions was ill-advised in the light of the fact that many of these young people had "failed" in formal schooling. The same argument applied to the methods and techniques of working with such groups. One writer, recounting the reactions to day release training of one group of Job Creation Programme trainees captures a typical picture:

> It was classroom-based and consequently highly unattractive to a group of youngsters who had left school at the earliest opportunity intent on never returning to the classroom again. It was geared to aspects of the painting and decorating trade (such as the chemical composition of paint and dyes) which they found obscure and far removed from day-to-day practice. The end result was that, bored and antagonised by college-based formalities, they became fractious and resentful. (Rees & Atkinson, 1982, p. 92)

The technical issues brought a flood of publications relating to a curriculum content and methodology from both the MSC and other related bodies (see Further Education Unit). However, the content and method issues were additionally complicated by colleges giving low status to this area of work--often relying on part-time staff as a result of the impression given that this form of youth training was only likely to be of temporary duration.

If the status of youth training work in the colleges was not high, the clientele were additionally labelled by virtue of their need to be provided with "life and social skills"--the ultimate expression in compensatory education. It is not necessary to rehearse the debate over compensatory initiatives on either side of the Atlantic, but the suggestion that these trainees were in need of "coping" skills set up concepts of social and personal pathologies in many quarters. These attitudes were firmly challenged by some observers:

> By the time they have reached adolescence such young men and women are highly socialised. They are not incompetent and socially unformed (though there will be aspects of adult life with which they are unfamiliar). They are highly developed and proficient social beings. (Rees & Atkinson, 1982, p. 121)

Others have seen this areas of the youth training schemes in a very different light, seeing the deficit approach as a diversionary tactic to draw attention from the real function of the schemes:

> Firstly, it enables young people to be taken off the streets into colleges, into a "safe" environment, thereby demonstrating that the state is doing something to tackle unemployment that it does have the interests of "our children" at heart. Secondly, it enables the problem to be located within the unemployed themselves. The primary focus on job-finding and job-keeping re-inforces the myth that there are appropriate

> jobs available to anyone who has the "skills" and persistence to find them. This argument conveniently deflects attention from the structural problems of British capitalism; it defines unemployment as matter of individual inadequacy. (Dale et al., 1981, pp. 65-66)

The analysis of the growth of the Manpower Services Commission as representing the state's response to a crisis of capitalism has been a consistent thread throughout the literature. Acknowledging that within capitalism industry cannot be adjusted to the needs of the workforce, it is argued that the state is left only with the option of seeking to change the nature of the workforce. By incorporating into the process of the MSC both trade unions and major industrial bodies, the state effectively depoliticises the issues surrounding unemployment, and by a subtle ideological shift of emphasis stressing the mismatch between labour and opportunity as the cause of high levels of unemployment changes what is essentially an economic problem into a problem of training and education. From this standpoint, the function of the MSC changes fundamentally:

> In other words since the early 1970s the MSC has become one of the key state apparatuses acting to "cool-out" and mitigate the social and economic consequences of the crisis of British capitalism. (Dale et al., 1981, p. 60)

Within such an analysis the schemes are less to do with skill training, but more concerned with the transmission of "correct" attitudes to work and social relations, and the transmission of the work ethic. Such goals are achieved by means of powerful hidden, and at times no-so-hidden, curriculum. Social and life skills here become particularly open to attack as a means of ideological control.

What is outlined above is a brief sketch of current concerns in a debate which is still developing. As the MSC continues to grow and its impact is felt more directly within the compulsory sector of schooling (TVE1) and in the financing of the traditional tertiary sector (Direct funding of 25% training provision in colleges), the debate becomes more relevant and at time acrimonious. Its work with young people, (now YTS), has changed its form and many of the technical objections to the earlier schemes have been overcome or at least mitigated by better materials, technical advice and training. However, the fundamental issues remain--particularly the politically sensitive areas. The solution to the problems of unemployment may be seen to lie outside the educational field--greater public investments, earlier retirement, shorter working hours --issues of profound political import within the United Kingdom. Also, little is said of the longer term future of work and its nature. There appears little serious thought about the articulation of current policy with various scenarios of future work patterns (see Watts, 1983). However, as is noted above, the debate continues.

The Research Project

What follows is firstly a brief overview of the project, including the general responses of the young people. Secondly, extracted from the detailed findings are two areas of special concern--the apparent relationship between emotional reactions to unemployment and attitudes to training, and the comparison of attitudes between staff and trainees.

Background

The impetus for this research came from MSC field workers in the East Midland Region. Prior to embarking on initial training programmes with YOP scheme managers, university staff spent time in the field familiarising themselves with the day-to-day work of the agencies. From the contacts established with managers and supervisors, a number of concerns emerged, two of which provide the foci for this survey. Firstly, as the YOP schemes drew to their conclusion--many to be incorporated into the new Youth Training Scheme which commenced in Spring, 1983--a large number of staff expressed strong feelings about the curricular emphases within schemes. They argued forcibly that the values that dominated the considerations of the young adults were of a traditional instrumental kind--what mattered were clearly relevant skills that would lead to traditional forms of employment. As a result of this, it was suggested the more liberated, personal development aspects of the schemes--life and social skills and inter-personal skills--were seen by many as being, at best, an intrusion into the important areas of work and at worst, an irrelevance. Closely associated with these concerns was the second issue. Just as it was claimed that there was a possible mismatch between the values of the young people and those incorporated in the schemes, it was

equally strongly argued that a divergence of views over the values of the aims of the schemes existed between trainees, supervisors, and mangers. Such diverse views as to the value of what was being done was, it was argued, leading to confusion and frustration on the part of some trainees and was having a serious impact on the efficiency of the work. Examples were offered of supervisors openly criticising life and social skills as a waste of time, and of "progressive" managers apparently taking the side of the young people against the supervisor's demands for standards of work and behaviour. That these perceptions were strongly held was not in doubt, and the research set out to attempt to clarify the exact nature of these relationships with a view to considering how they may affect the desired outcomes of the schemes.

Methodology

The main instrument of data collection was a self-completion questionnaire inviting respondents to indicate the degree of importance they attached to a number of aims associated with YOP schemes. The aims were not taken from official MSC publications but were collated from the views of schemes' managers involved in the University training course (in this sense they represent real operational goals of at least this group).

The form of the questionnaire was designed in consultation with the managers, and an initial pilot study of two hundred young people was undertaken. As a result, the response mode of the instrument was simplified on the grounds that many trainees had difficulty with complicated instructions. This last issue proved so intractable that in some cases where serious literacy problems existed the questionnaire was completed by the manager in consultation with the trainee. These cases were not identified and are included in the overall results, so any bias resultant from the interview style has not been considered.

In addition to the questions relating to the schemes, a request was made for various biographical details from all groups. These were requested to provide a more refined analysis of reaction and to isolate factors which may be significant in producing specific attitudes. In the case of the trainees, in addition to the neutral biographic details of age, sex, education, and background, two questions were included to ascertain the emotional reactions of trainees to being unemployed and also the reactions of the families towards them during this period. These questions were included to give an indication of the extent to which the emotional experience of unemployment affected trainees' attitudes to schemes. All questionnaires were completed within the month of November, 1982. Although one aspect of the survey is comparative, the remainder of this paper will be concerned with the views of the trainees.

The Sample

The trainee sample was made up of young people attending 27 YOP schemes in the East Midlands at the time of the survey. Within such an opportunity sample no representative claims can be made. Outlined below are the salient characteristics of the trainees who made up the study.

The total number of trainees surveyed was 1,004 of which 69% were male and 31% were female. The average age of the trainees was 16.6 years with 27% of the sample aged either 16 or 17, and 82% of the sample were working on community projects as opposed to 18% in workshops.

In terms of parental class background, 46% came from social class 4 (R.G. categories), 19% from class 5, and 17% from social class 3 and above. Seventy percent of the sample indicated they had a father who was working while 20% of the trainees definitely stated that the father was unemployed. Figures for working mothers revealed 52% of mothers working while 44% were considered unemployed. The vast majority of the sample (92%) came from British European origins and lived with their parents (95%). The average family size indicated was 3.9 children per family.

In educational terms 94% had attended comprehensive schools and 65% had left during 1982. A further 22% had left during 1981. Over a third of the sample (35%) had one or more "0" levels; an additional 41% holding come CSE qualification, with 22% having no educational qualification of any kind.

Occupational aspirations indicate that 53% of the sample sought to achieve social class 3M and 4 jobs, 14% social class 5, with 18% seeking social class 3NM and above. Approximately three quarters of the trainees (74%) had had no experience in employment, and 81% had received no occupational training post

school.

At the time of the survey 46% of the trainees had been on the particular YOP scheme for between 1 to 3 months; 30% had attended for between 4 to 5 months; and 20% had attended for more than 6 months.

In their attitudes to employment 10% did not mind their period of unemployment, 27% felt really down, 53% felt pretty bored; and 9% had been happy to enjoy the freedom. Parental reaction revealed 42% pressurised the young people; 12% were totally indifferent; and 19% let unemployment provoke argument and strong feelings.

Findings

Before discussing in detail how each of the above biographic items appears to relate to the attitudes towards the YOP schemes, the overall reations of all the trainees in the sample to the items in the questionnaire are presented in Table 1. These findings give some indication of the general responses to the aims of the schemes.

Before discussing the pattern of responses it is necessary to make two points. Firstly, the vast majority of items receive positive support from the trainees, with only two items falling below the mid-point in the scale (2.5%). Consequently, it can be assumed that overall the aims of the schemes as outlined in the survey are acknowledged by the trainees as important. Secondly, because of the number of items in the survey it is intended in this discussion to concentrate on the clearly definable issues emergent from the overall scores.

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the responses is that the items which receive the highest degree of support are clearly related to the need to find and train for "real" work. These instrumental goals appear of almost universal primary importance, and may pose problems in schemes which recognise that the nature of "real" work is changing and is likely to continue to do so.

In the scale below these clearly related issues are a group of items all within a mean score in excess of 3.0 which contain some less clearly demarked but clearly discernible traits. It appears that the assumption of adult roles via work is important, along with the personal gratification acquired through increased responsibility and enhanced skills. However, there is still a recognition of the need for access to help and advice. It would appear that the possibility of gaining employment is seen as the key to achieving this centrally important status recognition probably via both independence from parents and the acquisition of substantial spending power.

At the other end of the ranking emerge other issues. If the instrumental concerns of work dominate the values of the trainees, issues of formal education, knowledge of wider social issues and personal counselling appear of least importance. The lowest score of all refers to help with personal problems, which is paradoxical in an age-range which is assumed to be under intense pressure, but which may indicate an adolescent resistance to admitting a lack of capacity to deal with such matters. The item relating to education deserves closer investigation in that such a response could suggest that trainees reject the formal system as having failed them and therefore as being irrelevant; it may be that low achievers are inclined to be unenthusiastic to continue forms of learning at which they have already failed; or it may be a recognition that schooling does not relate in reality to the world of work. Certainly, it suggests that schemes need to be wary about adopting approaches which appear akin to those exercised in traditional schooling.

The relatively low level of interest in the working of British society and the local community again suggests that that which does not relate directly to occupational prospects is unlikely to attract support. The lack of interest in society in general when combined with a relatively low level of curiosity as to why unemployment exists suggests that the young people are certainly not politicised in the sense that they are seeking for a social explanation for their circumstances--this may be a central ideological issue that must be faced by schemes.

Clearly, in terms of overall interpretation, trainees appear to value aims in direct relationship to occupational outcomes--whether they will actually contribute to gaining and doing a job. They are much less interested in broader concerns--continuing education, social awareness, education for leisure--a factor which may explain some of the problems faced in some schemes by life and social skill programmes which appear to combine the least supported of the items--formal educational style and broad, apparently irrelevant content.

Table 1
Mean Scores for Self-Completion Questionnaire
(N = 1,004)

Item	Mean
1. Provide help with my own private worries and problems	2.41
2. Help me learn about the area I live in and the people there	2.43
3. Help me to understand how British society works	2.59
4. Help me to make up what I missed at at school	2.61
5. Help me make good use of my leisure	2.63
6. Help me understand why there is unemployment	2.71
7. Give me a chance to spend time each day away from home	2.71
8. Help me to carry on my education	2.72
9. Make me feel the same as my friends who have permanent jobs	2.76
10. Teach me how to look after my health and appearance	2.77
11. Help me understand that what I do can affect others	2.83
12. Let me have a say in deciding what I do on the scheme	2.83
13. Help me fill in time	2.90
14. Give me a chance to meet new friends	2.94
15. Allow me to use my imagination	2.96
16. Provide me with information about social welfare benefits	2.96
17. Help me to understand the need for discipline	2.97
18. Help me to behave properly without rules and regulations	2.99
19. Make me feel that I count for something	3.01
20. Let me spend time with staff who set a good example of how to work	3.10
21. Provide me with help and advice when I need it	3.10
22. Let me try our a number of jobs	3.12
23. Give me a chance to decide things for myself	3.14
24. Help me to get on with people older than myself	3.16
25. Make me feel proud of what I can do	3.19
26. Help me to work to the limit of my ability	3.21
27. Give me the chance to be treated as an adult	3.25
28. Provide me with some money of my own	3.30
29. Help me find out what I am really capable of	3.38
30. Give me the experience of real work	3.51
31. Train me in skills for work	3.54
32. Help me get a permanent job	3.61

Emotional Experience of Unemployment and Attitudes to Training

Without entering into lengthy discussions of the varying degrees to which biographic variables contributed to the emotional reactions to unemployment, it is worth noting that there appears a high correlation between emotional experience of unemployment and attitudes to training. In brief, it appears that a dominant pattern emerges which suggests that those young people for whom unemployment was a source of depression or unhappiness tend to invest significantly higher commitment to the training schemes than those for whom unemployment was less stressful. This large group display consistently high support for all aspects of the schemes--job related training, educational improvement, personal and social skills, learning about society. In 18 of the 32 indicators, they provide a significantly higher score than other groups, suggesting the existence of a highly committed and conforming group. The source of these values may lie in the home where they have served parents well in the past, or they may be the natural outcome of a motivating educational system. Whatever the

source, there can be little doubt that for this group the outcome of training is likely to be crucial. Unemployment after school has already been the cause of some registered unhappiness; release from training into unemployment may cause even further psychological stress. "youngsters have their expectations of a full-time job raised by their experience on YOP only to have them cruelly dashed by a return to the dole queue at the end of the YOP period" (Rees & Atkinson, 1982, p. 77).

Also it is worth considering the concern expressed for alienating the young mentioned earlier. It could be that the workings of the schemes may prove dysfunctional in this sense by alienating the most committed and conformist of the young. However, perhaps of greater importance are the implications for the educators in such a situation. If the promise of work - at least in the short term--is in fact unlikely, do educators "cool-out" their clients in the face of their future, seek to accommodate the future, or seek to challenge it? This leads naturally to the second issue.

Staff Attitudes and the Young

This item has been selected because one clear future of the work of the MSC has been to locate key training functions in the workplace often on supervisory staff with little training experience. In the case of this research, the matter was made more acute as supervisory staff were all recruited from the unemployment register and so may have been bringing very marked attitudes towards work with them. As the supervisors spent most time with the trainees, it is worth considering their attitudes--particularly in contrast with both management and trainees.

Firstly, the supervisors in the schemes shared with the trainees a high degree of commitment to the acquisition of skills, to the obtaining of a permanent job, and to the experience of real work. These areas are not unproblematic: Can permanent jobs be a real expectation? What are relevant "skills"? and what actually constitutes "real" work? The question hinges around the supervisors' perceptions of the nature of work. There may be a danger that they could transmit a series of traditional attitudes and values directly at variance with the schemes' stated aims. This same concern re-emerges in their very high emphasis in the need for the young to work with adults who display good working practices. There is the danger that in seeing themselves as role models they may draw upon their own interpretations of good practice, which may be founded upon the old apprenticeship/time-serving model. At this point it should be noted that little or no training was provided for these staff, and their attitudes are considerably more instrumental than those of the more "enlightened" managers.

However, the supervisors seem much closer to understanding the needs of the young people to escape home and fill time,--to "survive" their unemployment, than the managers. This may simply be that managers were less willing to conceded the illegitimate goals of the schemes, but it may also be that the supervisors' own recent unemployment and their closer working relation with the trainees could explain their clearer understanding.

If this sympathy is a positive indicator, there also exists the fact that the supervisors display less support for personal growth and self-discipline than managers; the latter preferring to stress discipline externally imposed. This may not be surprising considering the role of supervisors as front-line staff ensuring working standards and efficiency.

Behind these brief point lies the much bigger issue of placing fundamental training functions in the hands of those to whom such a role is novel or perhaps is related to outdated models. The possibility of a hidden curriculum stressing traditional values and skills concealed in schemes aiming at flexibility is currently being researched. Could such difficulties be overcome by training? Can such fundamental shifts in adolescent skill training be most effectively achieved within industry or within the education field? What should be the balance?

Issues for Adult Education

Below are listed a few issues which may be of interest to adult educators. In the last year or so, youth training provision has changed again, and the scheme now encompasses employed as well as unemployed young people. The government has stressed its desire to see more of such training based within industry and, as many of the host firms are small and have little training experience, the issue of supporting industry in this new role is obviously relevant. The state has established training centres, but they are few in number and small

in staff terms. There may be a new area of "training the trainers" available to the adult education sector. Are there areas of adult teaching expertise that could support this shift of emphasis in vocational preparation, or are such skills located in other disciplines? Is responsibility for a fundamental change in training policy best placed in the hands of inexperienced workers?

Allied to the above point is our position in relation to the ideological/political debate which continues. Can we approach any work in this field as a technical exercise in pedagogic efficiency, or must we enter into the underlying issues? This seems a particularly pertinent issue when dealing with adults as by definition they should be well able to cope with such issues. In the United Kingdom such an approach would also draw on a tradition of liberation within adult education history. For some the choice in this area could signify the difference between perpetuating and refining mystification or engaging in a liberating education. In the end, of course, nothing can be done within the system without the blessing of the MSC, and their views may be very fixed indeed.

The growth of the MSC has seen a growing centralisation of educational/training work outside the boundaries of the education authorities. Most recently they have provided resources for the compulsory schooling sector, thus determining certain aspects of the secondary school curriculum. The government has also announced that 25% of state finance traditionally given to the vocational tertiary sector is to be transferred to the MSC, and educational agencies--including those privately funded--must bid for the support. Inevitably, the fear here is that such arrangements will lead to a highly centralised control of provisions not only in terms of volume but also in terms of content. Is there here a threat to academic liberty or even to plain professional integrity?

On a more practical note, it may be worth considering the impact such massive policies may have on current perceptions of continuing education. If the concept of continuing education is defined as relating only to vocational/work issues, concentrating on updating skill, knowledge, and technology, then the need for specialist adult educators can only be marginal--for technicians at best. In current times some of the fuller, more humanist and liberal dimensions of the concepts may be lost. Should such current views be constantly challenged?

Finally, there may be a general area of research awaiting consideration. The state has allocated limited resources for research, much of which in the past has gone understandably on refining materials. Do we really understand the relationship between educational investment and economic growth? Are powerful hidden curricula at work, and so on? Here is perhaps where university adult educators can make their presence felt most markedly.

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NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR WOMEN

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Introduction

> All of us in an increasingly technological society need to make sense of the sciences and technology as they affect our lives: adult education has the job of helping us to do so. (Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (ACACE, 1984, p. 5)

It is now a cliche (although still true) to say that girls and women are not visible participants in the areas of science and technology, whether one is discussing education, employment, or training. Part-time adult education reflects this in the proportion of women who attend science courses as compared to other courses. In this paper, I intend to argue that a new area of the curriculum needs to be developed in liberal adult education--the teaching of science and technology to women. I will discuss the special provisions that need to be made for women, and talk about three examples of opportunities set up in Leeds for women to learn about science and technology.

Firstly, I should like to describe the kind of adult education that I shall be talking about. In Britain, three main providers offer part-time, liberal adult education: University extramural departments, the Worker's Educational Association (WEA), and the local education authorities (LEAs). Courses are normally open to any adult and are run during the day or in the evening. They are, therefore, non-vocational. There are demarcations between providers--university extramural work is seen as the dissemination of academic knowledge through sustained study and scholarship. The WEA provides an introduction to academic subjects (although more advanced courses are run, often in conjunction with the extramural departments), while the LEAs provide education activities more concerned with practical, recreational, and creative subjects.

The sciences and technology are an important and to some extent a neglected part of the adult education curriculum. Whether courses are concerned with teaching science and technology per se, or about science and technology in a social context, or aim to increase public awareness of scientific or technological issues, they make up a minor part of the overall programme. A survey of University Adult Education science provision showed that in 1979-80 some 14.9% of all courses offered were science ones. The WEA's science provision came to 12.5%, while the LEA's figure was some 2% (ACACE, 1981, p. 17-18).

In most subjects within classes provided by the WEA and extramural departments, women outnumbered men nearly two to one. In LEA classes they outnumbered them by nearly three to one (HMSO, 1984, Table 3.10). The earlier Russell Report showed the only types of course where men exceed women were residential and training ones (HMSO, 1973). Some of those classes which are part-time, nonvocational, relatively inexpensive, and usually non-award bearing are ones where the participants are women, in the majority.

The reasons for this are obviously quite complicated and merit their own survey. They relate to factors such as women's lack of other educational opportunities, the curriculum which certainly within the LEA supposedly reflects "women's" interests; availability of courses close to home.* It is interesting that this finding has not been further explored or, for that matter, exploited--it is usually merely noted. (See, for example, HMSO, 1973, pt. 1, para. 83; Southerland, 1981, p. 36.)

If the participation rates for specific subject areas are examined, it is clear that women participate far less in the small number of science and technology courses provided. For example, in the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Leeds in 1983-84, women made up 66% of all course enrollments with the exception of science and technology courses where they formed 47% of the clientele ("Annual Statistics," 1984). This reflects the earlier Russell report, where the only subjects where men outnumbered women were social studies and the physical and other sciences (with the exception of biology).

If we look at evidence from full-time education, we see this pattern repeated. Published examination results for CSE in 1980 show that overall boys received 47% of Grade I passes. However, in mathematics, science and technical subjects, this proportion rises to 66% (DES, 1980, Table C.25). At A-level, boys gained

55% of the passes overall and 68% in mathematics, science, and technical subjects (DES, 1980, Table C.29). More men go to the university (only 40% of students were women in 1980), with women making up only 24% of students on courses in engineering and technology, biological, and physical sciences *(University Statistics,* 1980).

A concern for girls' science education which has been shown over the last fifteen years, has prompted a number of publications (Kelley, 1978; Harding, 1983) and has culminated this year in the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) declaring 1984 WISE (Women Into Science and Engineering) year, in order to promote equality of opportunity for women. Schools, colleges, LEA's, employers, and professional institutions have been urged to undertake initiatives to encourage girls to take up science and technical subjects (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1984). The EOC sees the under representation of women in science and engineering partly as a result of a differentiated school curriculum for boys and girls, partly because of the lack of career advice for young women which encourages them to pursue technical and scientific careers, and partly because teachers assume they will be teaching men (EOC, 1984).

However, most of WISE projects generated this year are aimed at girls and teachers (EOC, 1984). They reflect a concern with full-time education and training. Women who are unable to take up full-time training or educational opportunities are not catered for.

ACACE made the case for teaching and technology very clear. If "one of the aims of a balanced educational system for everyone should be to provide a knowledge of the sciences, of scientific method, and of the language of science as well as a general idea of the scope of their application in contemporary technological achievements" (ACACE, 1981, para. 5), this applies to women who did not have scientific training at school, as much (and perhaps more so) as to men. However, many women do not consider this to be a potential area for study for them.

Why should this be so? Firstly, many women would not consider science or technology as a career, or as a subject for academic study because of their early experiences at school--lack of parental encouragement (Fox, 1975), teacher influences such as their expectations that girls cannot do so (Blackstone, 1976), negative experiences of science classes full of rowdy boys (Kelley, 1981), and so on. Secondly, these early experiences may be enhanced by women's continued feelings of uncertainty and lack of confidence in this area, which are reflected back to them in the attitudes of society and the general belief that women cannot do science. Thirdly, a line of argument put forward by feminists is that "science now is the embodiment of values currently esteemed as male and masculine. It is not feminine or female: nor are women or female values wanted" (Overfield, 1981, p. 239). For this reason, women do not choose to avoid science; it is simply not available to them, either as a subject or in the curriculum.

A separate argument is that women have been are are incapable of dealing with science and technology because of some inherent psychological difference in ability--in mathematical skills, visuo-spatial skills or some other skill. A lot of the research has been done in the area of mathematical skill, and evidence to demonstrate this (Benbow & Stanley, 1980) can be interpreted as the effect of years of discouragement for girls and their socialisation that, for example, mathematics is "unfeminine" (Schafer & Gray, 1981). Counter-evidence shows that "When relevant factors are controlled, sex-related differences in favour of males do not appear often, and when they do, they are not large" (Fennama & Sherman, 1978).

The evidence for women's inherent disadvantage is inconclusive. But it is true that women are unlikely to participate in a science course after school, whatever the reasons. If adult education is to fulfill its function, one area that it should be paying attention to is the encouragement of adult women to take up courses in science and technology. In other words, adult education should be taking up where WISE an other initiatives such as the Women's National Commission (1984) report leave off.

Adult Education Courses for Women

Two new approaches for women have been developed by feminists over the last ten years within adult education. The first approach is concerned with the subject matter that classes were traditionally based on. The approach of Women's Studies challenges the mainstream academic knowledge as male knowledge, which

has, on the whole omitted women, or only included them as they were seen through male eyes. Different lines of enquiry and new ways of learning are being developed and shaped into a growing body of knowledge.

The areas of sciences and technology serve as an excellent model for the feminist critique of "man-made studies." Keller (1983) examined a number of myths about science and women, which make explicit the idea that science is objective and therefore male:

> 1. Science is impersonal, women are personal; science deals with things, women with people.
> 2. The basic feminine sense of self is connected to the world, basic masculine sense of self is separate. Relatedly, it is claimed that objectivity requires a total removal of the self from the object of study. (Chadoro, 1978, p. 69)

However, work by Kuhn, (1962) for example, suggests that scientific theories are influenced by social and political forces. They do not develop a vacuum. Science and technology are social products. Ideas about science, and who can do it, are shaped by those who control it--men. The areas that are explored, the uses that science is put to, and the way that scientific knowledge is "passed on" are all culture-dependant. So, one reason that women do not take up science is because it is not relevant to them as it stands. Even objectivity is, to some extent, related to its context. This challenge implies that subjects like technology are researched and taught from a particular perspective, and that there is an alternative women's perspective. This is discussed in relation to the course content in the third part of this paper.

The second approach considers the particular needs of women students. It recognises that many women have been out of education or employment for some time because they have been concerned with raising a family, running a home, or have been prevented from taking up opportunities because of their lack of qualifications. It is recognised that such women may be lacking in confidence, isolated, and deprived of any stimulating contracts. Courses are put on to develop their confidence, to enable them to study academic disciplines, and to inform them about opportunities available to them. Such courses are called New (or Wider) Opportunities for Women (NOW or WOW courses) (Dolan, Fitzgerald, Messer, & Townsend, 1984). The two approaches are not mutually exclusive--Women's Studies may be taught as an academic subject on NOW courses.

Most of the subjects selected for women's courses have fallen into the area of the Arts or Social Studies. Science and Technology courses are glaringly absent. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, feminists developing such courses may not have much expertise in these areas themselves. Secondly, it is often felt that women would be frightened of attending science courses which is, of course, true. Thirdly, there are very few women part-time tutors who would qualify to teach such courses in science and technology. Other reason given are mathematics requirements for science courses, the suitability of the subject for women, and its relatedness (or lack of) to women's lives. However, none of this should prevent us from trying to develop educational courses for women in areas that they probably have never had the opportunity to study.

Development of Science and Technology Courses for Women

Since there has been no work until now on the development of a science curriculum aimed at women within Adult Education, the evidence from young girls in science classes at school and from women-only training centres needs to be considered when trying out new ventures. A number of women's training centres have been set up over the last three years with aim to train women in non-traditional skills, for example, carpentry and joinery, computing and electronics, and plumbing (Heringues, 1984). They have a number of features in common: they are taught by women tutors, they teach more general courses as part of the training course, and they attend to the child-care needs of women students. This brings up a number of issues which are relevant for this discussion.

The Case for Women Only Science Courses

There is much evidence from studies of schooling that girls do not benefit in mixed-sex schools, and especially in mixed-sex mathematics and science classes. For example, girls are inhibited by the presence of boys (Sharp, 1976); they may be seen as unfeminine if they take mathematics or science; they may be treated very differently from boys by teachers

and forced to withdraw (Delamont, 1980); there is an overwhelming majority of boys in such classes which may, in itself, be inhibiting. It is also well documented that girls do not talk as much as boys in class and appear more passive in choosing what they do (Spender, 1980). Boys receive more of the teacher's attention, are questioned and rewarded more, and are assumed to be brighter and more interesting to teach (Spender, 1982). All these factors inhibit girls and would affect women as well in adult education classes.

There are other reasons for providing classes for women only. In the wake of the second women's movement, a great deal has been written about the supportiveness of groups of women (Thompson, 1983). The identification with other women in the class and the recognition of the early deflationary experiences that they might have had as girls in connection with science would help to boost women's confidence and provide a supportive atmosphere.

Women Tutors for Science Classes

There are two main reasons for choosing women to teach science to women. The first concerns the role of the tutors as models for their students, and the second concerns the tutor's attitudes towards their students.

Evidence for the importance of appropriate sex-role models comes from investigations of single-sex schools. Women who went to all-girl schools where maths and science were taught by women are less likely to see them as "masculine" subjects (Deem, 1978). There is also evidence that sponsoring is an important factor in helping some students with marginal examination results but that male teachers sponsor female students in a way that encourages them to be dependent, acquiescent or invisible (Boswell, 1984). If women were used as tutors, they would provide clear evidence that women can learn science, and they might sponsor students in a way that did not reflect on them as dependents.

Furthermore, teachers' attitudes are not independent of general attitudes towards gender (Sarah, 1980). Men who teach science may still see women students as dependent or incapable in some ways. Women may also identify more closely with students, and understand the importance of a women's perspective, no matter what course is taught; they may also be able to understand and analyse particular problems that women face because of their own experiences.

Methods for Women's Science Classes

Most women only courses evolve their own teaching methods which are very different from the ones used in mixed classes. Generally, a supportive atmosphere is created, which allows women to talk about and validate their own experiences and perhaps eventually to take control of their own learning. The absence of competitiveness is another feature of women's classes which might influence the methods used. Jane Thompson (1983) writes of second chance classes in Southampton: "Women learning together with other women can resist the compulsion to become part of the dehumanising forces of competition, elitism and self-aggrandisement encourage by patriarchy, but which redefined contains the energy to in turn redefine human relationships" (p. 158).

Course Content for Women's Science Classes

Earlier, I discussed the development of women's studies and the concept of gender-related perspectives on knowledge. It is not adequate to take the material of mixed classes and transfer it directly to women's courses. There is a growing body of information which suggests that women are not only concerned about learning computing or physics on science courses; they are also interested in the wider implications for their lives (King, 1983). It is an assumption within adult education that one starts where the student is--this is usually where the men in a class are (Spender, 1980). Their concerns are very often vocational, they are or concerned with learning a particular skill or subject. Women are concerned with the ways in which a subject is related to their lives, as well as the subject matter in hand (Gilligan, 1982). So the outcome of this is that such courses should be developed from student's own viewpoints--and that this viewpoint is different for women.

New Initiaives

Within the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at Leeds, we have recognised

that women are missing out on important areas of the curriculum, partly through choosing not to attend mixed science courses, whatever the reasons, and partly through our own conceptions of what women want to learn. For example, we have for several years, run New Opportunities for Women (NOW) which are aimed at women who have been at home and who are looking for new directions in their lives. We have given students the chance to take academic subjects such as literature, sociology, psychology or history, and have included a counselling session (called New Directions). However, we had not until recently thought of including any aspects of science and technology in NOW courses.

When we decided to try to develop courses in science for women that women would come to, we considered three models with different aims and target audiences. The first, which we called "A Women"s Science Sampler", was a dayschool which offered women the chance to sample two scientific or technological subjects taught by women. The day was aimed at women who did not wish to risk very much in time, self-esteem or finances but who wanted to have a go. We recruited seventy women to the course, some of whom went on to take one of our longer courses (see below).

The second model we developed was a NOW course which offered mathematics and computing and New Technology, as well as a New Directions counselling session. The target group was the same as for other NOW courses, and the first course recruited successfully and is running 1 full day a week for 20 weeks at the moment.

The third and final development was the decision to run a women-only computing and New Technology course in parallel with a mixed course. This course recruited, ran successfully last year, and is being run again this year. Students attend the class for 2 hours a week for 24 weeks. In the preliminary results of a survey comparing the two classes, it is clear that women attended the women-only course much more consistently than that mixed course and reported enjoying it much more than those on the mixed course. Obviously, there are many other factors which could account for this, but we intend to monitor the progress of similar courses this year.

Adult Education in Britain has neglected that part of the curriculum concerned with science education for women. I have reported on efforts to rectify this in the Leeds Department. There are many other initiatives taking place in the country, mostly training women in non-traditional skills such as electronics and computing. However, there are very few educational opportunities for women who do not want or who are not ready to embark on full-time training schemes. It is this market that we are aiming for.

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TRANSPERSONAL PSYCHOLOGY: GUIDING IMAGE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION*

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Introduction

International adult education as a field of study and practice represents a movement which goes beyond ethnocentric understanding and renditions of adult education to a more unifying, universal orientation for the field. Adult education is perceived and treated as a movement worldwide in scope, and the importance of all countries learning from each other is stressed.

Although the international perspective in adult education has a long-standing tradition, dating well before the first International Conference in Adult Education held during 1949 in Elsinore, Denmark, only in the past few decades have so many books and other publications proliferated. The field is obviously developing a more solid knowledge base. Moreover, a networking system of committed leaders and adherents is developing as witnessed by international conferences sponsored by both UNESCO and International Council for Adult Education, as well as the founding of the International Associates in Adult Education, a group of scholars and practitioners contributing to the development, understanding, and advancement of international adult education as a field of study and practice. More recently, a first National Conference on International Adult Education was held in the U.S.A. during October, 1983, at the University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C. Despite these landmark events, where the field will go and grow from here remains a challenge to pioneering spirits.

The Importance of Guiding Images

A plausible next step in building a foundation for the field--in leading solidarity as well as vision--is the initiation of a discussion and dialogue on the articulation of guiding image (image of humankind and world view) to direct both study and practice of international adult education. The images and visions held by leaders and promoters of a field tend to shape the direction taken. As a new and emerging field which is gaining prominence in the world community, international adult education will also be shaped by the images of those now studying and practicing in the field. All of us do have images and belief systems which guide our thought and action; however, all too often many of us don't take the time to clarify, understand, or delineate them.

In this respect, international adult education may be at a critical crossroad in its development. It seems imperative to begin to articulate or at least explore the image which could or should guide the further advancement of the field in terms of both theory and plans of action. This article offers for consideration one such image.

As Markley and Harman (1982)[1] elucidated in their report of the landmark Standford study about past, current, and suggested future images of "man" [*sic*], society is shaped by the image that guides it. Accordingly, fields are too. A major intent of this study was to examine ways in which the current image of humankind (based on a Cartesian/Newtonian/industrial world view)[2] might be transformed in light of recent findings which support an expanded notion of reality and human potential. The report calls for a guiding image which

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[1]The study was conducted and initially printed and distributed in 1974 by The Center for the Study of Social Policy, Stanford Research Institute International. The 1982 copyright date marks its availability in book form by Pergamon Press.

[2]The Cartesian-Newtonian/industrial world view which has been acting as a dominant paradigm, depicts the universe as composed of separate parts. Due to its emphasis on ascertaining the relationship between the separate objects or parts it is known as a "mechanistic view." Based on research from modern physics, however, this view is increasingly recognized as only one aspect of a more holistic reality.

recognizes nonegoic parts of humankind and reconciles previously opposing notions such as body-spirit, science-religion, etc. Many of these ideas are core features of transpersonal psychology--a fourth force in the discipline of psychology. The force has grown greatly since the 1974 Stanford study and includes the writer's own work in conceptualizing and articulating the area (Boucouvalas, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1982, 1983a, 1983b).

In order to better understand the contribution which transpersonal or psychology might offer as a guiding image for international adult education efforts, it should prove helpful to discuss images of humankind offered by the previous three forces in the discipline of psychology and the interrelationship between the image and the world view with which it is associated.

Guiding Image Provided by Psychology's Forces

The discipline of psychology seeks to better understand and explain the human phenomenon. Based on exploration, research, and findings put forth, a portrait of the possible human emerges. While the discipline sustains many streams and movements of thought, a force is different. Not limited to a school or theory, a force transcends or goes beyond the discipline to affect many facets of society (e.g., education, management, etc.) and, in fact, provides an image of humankind to guide though and action.

Of course, psychology--like any discipline--does not operate in a vacuum. Rather it both reflects and contributes to shaping a larger world view promulgated by the convergence of multidisciplinary findings. First force or psychoanalytic psychology presented an image of humankind which stresses one's biological nature and which was consistent with the tone of society and the great biological advances of the time (e.g., pasteurization, discovery of penicillin, etc.) as well as treaties on biological evolution of humankind such as Darwin's Origin of the Species. Second force, behavioristic psychology, emphasized an image of humans who are shaped and conditioned by the environment. Humankind and behavior patterns were seen as shaped by rewards and punishments which reinforce behavior. This complemented, supported, and contributed to the world view of the industrial area. Concern with both production and control in society-at-large necessitated a handy and useful tool particularly for training and education in technologically-oriented society. Consequently behavioristic psychology became a dominant force. Since society was influenced in many respects by the industrial revolution, the mechanistic view of the time was likewise reflected in psychology's emphasis on behavior rather than mind. In both psychoanalytic and behavioristic images, the principles of learning were similar for human and animals.

Humanistic psychology, as the name implies, sought to both understand and explain the fully human aspect of humankind. By studying creative aspects of the human phenomenon and investigating fully healthy and mature individuals as models of human potential, a corresponding image of humankind as transcender of environment and creator of their own reality and destiny emerged.

While humanistic psychology extended the parameters of the first two forces by going beyond an antagonistic to a more complementary contribution of each force to understanding different aspects of the human phenomenon, it also blazed trails for the advent of fourth force--transpersonal psychology--which affirms a human potential for self-transcendence--going beyond an egoistic or "what's in it for me" level of motivation. Interestingly humanistic psychology began to evolve during the late 1940's/early 1950's--around the time when the first computer was introduced and when, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the percentage of work force employed in the industrial sector began to incrementally decline and the percentage employed in the information sector began to incrementally increase.

The ascension of the information age and its mega-technological catalysts such as communication as well as computer advances was complemented by further explorations into the subatomic world which are only now after repeated experimentation emerging into a new, more enlarged world view. The corresponding image of humankind, the groundwork of which was set forth by the humanistic force and further advanced by the fourth transpersonal force, supports and contributes to the emerging more complete world view predicted on the findings from modern physics and a whole host of other disciplines.

The Emerging World View as a Context for Transpersonal Psychology

The image of humankind offered by transpersonal psychology can best be understood in light of the world view which it both reflects and to which it contributes. The emerging world view (or paradigm) cuts across the "cutting edge" of many disciplines. It extends rather than contradicts the modern scientific world view--the Cartesian-Newtonian paradigm (see footnote 2). In Harman's (1977) words:

> The challenging paradigm assumes some sort of transcendent spiritual order, discoverable in human experience, against which human evolution have direction or purpose. Levels of consciousness are explorable, with different appropriate levels of explanation. Hence the scientific explanation of the levels of sensory experience in no way contradicts religious, philosophical, or poetical interpretations of suprasensory experience. Rather, it is complementary to them. (p. 108)

Karl Pribam (cited in Welwood, et al., 1978), noted neuroscientist, had this to say:

> I really think we are participants in a paradigm shift and with the shift will come a blending of Eastern and Western traditions . . . this time it's going to be a "scientific-religious" experience . . . (and) I think that we can integrate the new paradigm into our everyday experiences in the same way we have done with the round world since the Copernican revolution. (p. 100)

The evidence, which chronologically was first obtained from quantum mechanics and theoretical physics, is summarized from Capra (1975)[3]:

> Quantum theory forces us to see the universe not as a collection of physical objects, but rather as a complicated web of relations between the various parts of the united whole . . . . Quantum theory has abolished the notion of fundamentally separated objects, has introduced the concept of participant to replace that of the observer, and may even find it necessary to include the human consciousness in its description of the world. (p. 129)

Thus, at the most fundamental level, the world view becomes "organic" rather than "mechanistic" in nature. Further, quantum mechanics has shown us that objects are not independent of human consciousness, as previously perceived. A number of significant contributions of quantum theory for transpersonal concerns include:

1. Elimination of Cartesian-Newtonian notions of separate objects as the most fundamental level of the universe.
2. View of universe as web of interconnected parts, defined through their relations to the whole world.
3. Introduction of the concept of participant, rather than observer; that is, the idea that it is not possible to observe something without changing it.

Accordingly, physicist David Bohm (1971, 1973, 1980) postulated two orders to the universe:

1. The unfolded explicate order is the world of multiplicity as perceived in ordinary personal consciousness--the Cartesian view of things as separate entities, the Newtonian perspective of a "mechanistic" world order. This is how the world appears unfolded before our senses--the world which is promoted in the west.
2. The enfolded implicate order is enclosed or enveloped within and beyond the explicate order and represents a much more subtle and fundamental arrangement to the universe and is apprehended in transpersonal consciousness--the world as it has been promoted in the cast for millennia.

This is why, according to D. Goleman (personal communication, August 6, 1979), transpersonal psychology represents a "cross-fertilization of Eastern and Western approaches, each having its own range of insight and wisdom." Moreover, Walsh (1979) predicts that as "the individual branches of science evolve we may witness increasing degrees of cross-disciplinary parallels, not only between the sciences, but between science and the consciousness disciplines as each discovers the same fundamental underlying properties of nature" (p. 126). Humans are likewise perceived as part of nature.

Set within this context, transpersonal psychology seeks to better understand and study the human ability to apprehend this more fundamental reality of interconnectedness which manifests in humans as a global identity to complement one's ego identity. Fourth force psychology, then, extends even further the

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[3]The interested reader is also referred to: Capra (1976, 1982), d 'Espagnat (1979), Grot (1983), Needleman (1975), and Zukav (1979). All entries are listed in the references.

parameters of human potential and provides a more comprehensive guiding image of the possible human.

Transpersonal Psychology: Essence and Overview

Essentially transpersonal psychology is concerned with understanding more fully the total human being, including one's potential to step outside and beyond the ego as the sole axis upon which one's world turns. Individual pathways to the transpersonal as well as interpersonal and environmental quality are included.

Theoretical emphases are contributing to the development of a new knowledge paradigm as well as world view which integrates *both* Eastern and Western ideas. The structuring of maps of consciousness is a case-in-point. Operationally, transpersonal psychology is applied to therapy, education, medicine, art, and a host of other areas. The force is equally concerned with focus on prerequisites or preconditions to foster transpersonal growth (both within individuals and in society-at-large), obstacles and barriers, and precautions and hazards.

Two main foci emerge: (a) very rare individuals living at a level beyond self-actualization (i.e., self-transcendence) and (b) transpersonal glimpses, moments, and episodes in the lives of other "ordinary" people. Each will be discussed within the following discussion highlighting the potential contribution of transpersonal psychology as a guiding image to international adult education efforts.

Transpersonal Psychology and International Adult Education

Toward a Global Identity

First, it seems interesting to note that characteristics of individuals in transpersonal moments or as self-transcending individuals are similar. A global, universalizing perspective and identity emerge in which individuals perceive themselves, their countries as part of a larger whole. The greater whole is the globe, the planet. Of course, it's also our common denominator and lays a very foundation for international adult education efforts. A major theme of this article is that adoption of a guiding image furnished by transpersonal psychology may provide a means--or at least a vision--for those involved in international adult education efforts, to mount a more holistic view of all countries fundamentally seen as part of a greater whole--an advance which would enable scholars and practitioners alike to go beyond the potential perspective of seeing one's country and others only as segmented units learning from each other.

It should become increasingly clear, then, why it is proposed that the image of humankind offered by transpersonal psychology, as well as the world view upon which it rests, can beneficially serve as a guiding image for the further advancement of international adult education as a field of study and practice.

At the outset, it seems critical to stress the fact that transpersonal psychology does not relegate the ego to an inferior level. Rather, the establishment of ego strength is critically important in order to get beyond or "transcend" it. Without pre-established strength, the ego is suppressed rather than transcended. Perhaps the key is in ego becoming tool (biological and social) rather than master.

In comparative vein it seems equally imperative to clarify, that, from an international adult education perspective, each country or nation is unique unto itself and that we must work to preserve and support cultural, political, social, and other forms of expression of the country itself and its adult education efforts. This unique expression of each system should in no way be obliterated or avoided.

At the same time, however, one might recognize that one's individual identity--be it personal or national--can, if accompanied by blinders, narrow one's perspectives and appreciation of the larger effort of which all countries are part and the common identity all share as planetary citizens, as seen through the global perspectives and identities.

The vision of developing a global identity has been a theme permeating the writings of a host of cross-discipline writers for a number of years. Mumford (1956) spoke of "one World Man." Margaret Mead (1974) urged the development of a "one World" perspective. Platt (1974, 1979, 1981) stressed the importance of global identity and perspective for global survival. W.I. Thompson (1974, 1976, 1978) warned that the limitations of a sole ego identity without an accompanying global identity would blind us to seeing that we're part of one planetary life (until we discover that we're part of one planetary death). All allude to a new

and needed synthesis between Eastern and Western thought.

Transpersonal Psychology as Guiding Image

With the advent and growth of transpersonal psychology founded also on findings from multi-disciplinary sources, discussed earlier (e.g., modern physics, neurosciences, etc.), this vision of the potential human with a global identity is no longer utopic. The guiding image provided by transpersonal psychology is rooted in the research of one of its founders, Abraham Maslow. Just prior to his death in 1970 Maslow was working on research to elucidate his observed differences between what he termed "transcending" and "nontranscending" self-actualizers. He determined that the transcending self-actualizers apparently were living at a higher level of development which he called self-transcendence, thus adding a new pinnacle and dimension to his hierarchy of needs.

Following McGregor's (1960) Theory X/Theory Y behavior, Maslow dubbed these people as living with Theory Z (Maslow, 1969). More specifically, he found that his transcending self-actualizers or self-transcenders had more of the following characteristics:

1. Peak and plateau experiences become the validators of life, and the most important aspects of it.
2. The transcenders speak more easily the language of poets, mystics and religious people. As a result, they should better understand parables, paradoxes, etc., and hypothesis which he proposed as testable.
3. Good reality resting in the D-realm is complemented by a simultaneous perception of sacredness in all things.
4. They are much more consciously metamotivated (i.e. by B-values).
5. They recognize each other immediately and come to instant intimacy and understanding, in nonverbal as well as verbal ways.
6. They are more responsive to beauty, but often see as beautiful what is not conventionally beautiful.
7. They think in terms of "planetary humankind" and, in general holistic perceptions much more easily and naturally.
8. With their natural tendency toward synergy, they transcend dichotomy between selfishness and unselfishness.
9. More and easier transcendence of the ego abounds.
10. In addition to being lovable, as most self-actualizing people are, they are likewise awe-inspiring.
11. They are most apt to be innovators, discoverers of the new, as compared to the healthy self-actualizers who are good "doers". Transcendent experiences bring a clearer vision of what ought to be and could be.
12. Sometimes they tend to be less happy than self-actualizers, or sad over the stupidity, cruelty, and blindness of people. Although they are optimistic about the "saintly" possibilities of human nature, they likewise see too few people operating within this realm.
13. To individuals at a "lower" realm of being, the transcending self-actualizer acts as a member of the family, who is loved and cared for no matter what. Simultaneously, however, the transcenders are capable of being both all-forgiving and punished at the same time.
14. Transcenders show a positive correlation between increasing knowledge and increasing mystery and awe. Mystery is challenging and attractive, rather than frightening.
15. Transcenders seem less afraid of "kooks," while at the same time are able to screen the creative from the noncreative ones, the latter of which Maslow presents as a testable hypothesis.
16. They are more reconciled with evil in terms of understanding its necessity, and are able to compassionately strike down the evil person.
17. The transpersonal loss of ego often causes these individuals to regard themselves as instruments of the transpersonal or carriers of talent, with an implied responsibility to humanity.
18. In principle, transcenders are apt to be "spiritual" in either the theistic or nontheistic sense. In fact, proposed as a testable hypothesis is the notion that some atheists may be more "spiritual" than some priests.
19. Transcenders tend to be strong selves, well-directed, but at the same time find it easy to go beyond identification with self, the ego--to go beyond self-actualization.
20. Transcenders would possibly have more experiences of fascination with elements in nature, much in the same way as a child.
21. In theory, transcender should be more Taoistic in the sense of letting things be, to

perhaps stare at and examine rather than do something with it.

22. A more wholeheartedness in love.
23. They think more in terms of metapay, than in monetary pay and, in general, tend to shun luxury, privilege, honor, possessions for a type of voluntary simplicity.
24. As a vague hunch, but easily testable hypothesis, transcenders tend to be more Sheldonian ectomorphs than the non transcending self-actualizers who appear to be mesomorphs. (Maslow, 1969, p. 34; 1971, p. 273)

Balance and integration characterized these individuals. While they tended not to be caught up in total egocentric, "What's in it for me" motivation neither are they recluses contemplating their navels! They were well integrated into everyday life, often in service to humanity. Examples include Albert Sweitzer and Mother Theresa.

Of course this potential may not be completely foreign to those versed in the literature on adult development. In fact, ongoing research efforts of this writer are aimed at integrating selected stage theorists in adult development within the framework of transpersonal psychology. When looking laterally across the highest hierarchical level of functioning of a number of stage theorists a striking pattern emerges which is consistent with Maslow's transcending actualizers. For example, Stage 6 of Jane Loevinger's hierarchy of ego development represents the highest level of development observed which she has dubbed "integrated" (Loevinger, 1976, 1983; Loevinger & Wessler, 1970a; Loevinger, Wessler & Redmore, 1970b). Such individuals have transcended dualities and a whole host of inner conflicts and paradoxes. Their worlds are broad; their ideals universal. Similarly, Fowler's (1981) Stage 6 individuals with "Universalizing Faith" have a "devotion to universalizing compassion and enlarged visions of universal community" (p. 200). They have "visions born out of . . . identification with persons and circumstances where the futurity is being crushed, blocked, or exploited" (p. 203). Of course, Fowler stresses that these individuals are "exceedingly rare."

Further, Kohlberg (1981) has added a Stage 7 to his research on the development of moral and ethical growth. "Its essence is the sense of being part of the whole of life and the adoption of cosmic, as opposed to universal, humanistic Stage 6 perspective." Kohlberg explains that in Stage 7 "we sense the unity of the whole and ourselves as part of the unity." He stresses, however, that "this experience of unity, often mistakenly treated as a mere rush of mystic feelings, is at Stage 7 associated with a structure of ontological and moral conviction" (p. 235). He offers as an example Marcus Aurelius, who exemplified the "strength to act in terms of universal principles of justice in an unjust world," and the "peace that comes from seeing oneself as a finite part of an infinite whole" (p. 346).

Common to the findings of all researchers/theorists is the emergence of a "mature" individual who not only has a universal perspective, but appears to have developed a global identity. Moreover, all theorists pose that less than 1% of the population is accounted for at this level of development.

Since adult development and growth are influenced greatly by relationships, particularly the intimate ones, as well as by the larger environment in which one finds oneself, the work of Campbell (1980)--on stages of intimate relationships--and Gibb (1978) on stages of what he terms "environmental quality" are likewise relevant.

For example, Campbell's research, and the hierarchical stages of growth in intimate relationships which is spawned, generated a "cocreative" stage at the highest level of hierarchical functioning. The couple at this stage "applies to the world beyond their partnership all they have learned during the previous four stages . . . they . . . extend the feeling of human unity experienced in their relationship, and . . . offer to others the fruits of their mutual creativity." Thus at this stage, couples often engage in shared creative work aimed at making a contribution to the world. Egocentric attitudes between the "partners" and in their interface with the world have been overcome. Such couples often assert that "the more we choose to cooperate, the more we increase our power to transform ourselves . . . and the universe" (pp. 113-114).

Consequently, it appears that at least a first step for those involved in the field of international adult education would be to draw such individuals (either in material or human form) into the field--in study and action. Moreover, it may be useful to attend to the "environmental quality" which might nourish this type of growth. Gibb's Environmental Quality Scale,

Table 1
Gibb's Environmental Quality (EQ) Scale: An Overview*

EQ Level	Theme	Key or Central Function	Major Need Fulfilled	Forces Providing for Primary Fear Inhibiting Growth (Fear of:)	Demise of Environment and Movement to Next Level
I	Punitive	Punishment	Survival	Rebellion and loss of control	Production of guilt and hostility
II	Autocratic	Power, order, structure	Giving and gaining power	Ambiguity, disorder anarchy	Creation of passivity and dependence
III	Benevolent	Nurturing and caring	Protecting and being protected	Emotional weaning	Fostering emotional disorder and apathy
IV	Advisory	Consultative help	Understanding and being understood	Conflict, diversity action	Failing to distribute responsibility by not tapping appropriate energy and action
V	Participative	Consensual decision-making and choice	Joining and being joined	Leaderlessness and responsibility	Ambiguity of leader role
VI	Emergent	Leaderless groups and communities	Being in community	Nonrational and nonverbal states	Overreliance upon rational and verbal processess
VII	Organic	Intuitive modes of being and communicating	Feeling and expressing feelings	Mysteries of unconscious	Overreliance upon conscious processes
VIII	Holistic	Synergy, integration of unconscious processes in everyday living	Being whole	Loss of conscious and voluntary control	Overreliance upon sensory and experience
IX	Transcendent	Transcend everyday world of experience; integrate other states of consciousness	Transcendence	Leaving security of bodily and sensory base	Overreliance upon body and mind
X	Cosmic	Unity; cosmic and universal states of being	Joining the universal all	Fears possibly transcended	Little data available

*Based on information provided in Gibb, J. R. (1973). *Trust: A new view of personal and organizational growth.* Los Angeles: Guild of Tutor Press.

depicted in Table 1, demonstrates the usefulness of--at minimum--becoming aware of the possibility of designing environments which foster synergistic atmospheres for all people to progress.

To remain solely with a rare breed of the populations may only serve to conjure up images of elitism. Equally important is an understanding of moments in ordinary people's lives which at least lead to an affirmation of the potentiality of developing a global identity and the perspective of an interconnectedness.

The theme that the transpersonal represents a shift away from a purely egocentric orientation to a more universal orientation may--in actually day-to-day living--appear only

sporadically, if at all, for many people at other "stages" of development. An example which communicates to many people is the ongoing work in studying the variety of levels and states of consciousness in which ego is not the central axis or motivation. An example is Theta state--the twilight state between waking and sleeping (called hypnagogic) and between sleeping and waking (called hypnopomic) which is being discovered as a good state for problem-solving, and a state people are being trained to recognize and prolong. Of course, all of us have had moments of complete concentration or involvement with an event or person so as to precipitate self-forgetfulness; that is, a loss of self-awareness of self-consciousness. Such moments provide a quick glimpse into the transpersonal realm. Furthermore, Maslow tells us that "peak experiences" may often occur spontaneously--the most common triggers being music or sex, both of which have potential abilities to dissolve ego boundaries and "waking" definitions of time and space. But these are only glimpses. Movement toward more profound "transpersonal experiences" ["feeling of the individual that consciousness has been expanded beyond the usual ego boundaries of time and space" (Grof, 1976, p. 54)] entails a number of individual, as well as societal, prerequisites. An individual commitment to self-discovery, of course, is the sine qua non of transpersonal progression. Beyond that, however, an individual must be able to:

1. Develop intuitive as well as rational faculties; that is, to use, as well as transcend logic.
2. Get beyond one's own person and yield some ego control; which of course implies development of a strong ego since one cannot "give up" that which one does not have.
3. Recognize and trust inner impulses toward transpersonal; which of course, implies the ability to relax and concentrate.
4. Intergrate transpersonal experiences with everyday life, and, at the same time, avoid "spiritual materialism" [a phrase coined by Trungpa (1973) to refer to an ego-centered version of spirituality in which people deceive themselves into thinking that they are developing true spirituality when only strengthening the ego through spirituality].

Transpersonal experiences are only a preview of transpersonal realization--a glimpse of a potential level of being, of humankind at its optimum. In this regard, many "techniques" and pathways are discussed and used in transpersonal endeavors, in its current stage of development, in order to help initiate people into transpersonal levels of consciousness. They extend from those that are considered classical avenues to transpersonal realization; to those that require assistance either chemically, humanly, or mechanically; to those that serve as avenues to transpersonal awakening more than realization (e.g. mediation, biofeedback training, mental imagery and relaxation training, centering exercises, music and art, and others).

Transpersonal awakening refers to the initial discovery by the individual of something more than, or greater than, the individual ego, while transpersonal realization refers to a level of living in which the individual has integrated transpersonal experiences with everyday life. In its purest form it refers to a fully "realized" or "enlightened" being.

Although techniques provide a way of stepping outside one's ego--even if temporarily--they are, as Trungpa (1983) likens them, "toys" which are discarded when one "grows up". Beyond that, trusting what transpersonal proponents refer to as natural inner impulses to transpersonal growth becomes critical. A major premise is that the individual has the capacity for self-healing and self-direction. Transpersonal progression proceeds from transpersonal awakening on up to transpersonal realization. A needed and necessary dimension is the continued integration of transpersonal experiences with the personal dimension of one's life. Even those rare individuals living at a level of "self-transcendence" return and live in "ordinary" life to participate in service to society.

Of course, one's attitude and context is critical. If connected with one's "ultimate" values many activities can be transforming (Frager, 1979). Sports, particularly, have come into prominence lately as avenues to expanded states of awareness and potential transpersonal awakening (Gallwey, 1974; Murphy, 1972; Murphy & White, 1978). Likewise, the transpersonal aspects of inter-being relationship with a meaningful other are increasingly being explored, as exemplified by John and Toni Lilly (1976) in the *Dyadic Couple*, as discussed by Jack Gibb (1978) in *Trust*, and as empirically generated by Campbell (1980). Conversely, techniques may be used without subscribing to transpersonal philosophies, values,

or way of life.

Whether avenues to transpersonal awakening or pathways to transpersonal realization, most approaches expose individuals to a reality other than, or in addition to, the objective-rational in an effort to ultimately awaken and activate one's "higher self." One is reminded that a transpersonal experience is not synonymous with transpersonal realization or transpersonal level of being. Transpersonal experiences, it appears, seem to run on a continuum from the glimpses of peak experiences to the profound transformations of mystical experiences. A mystical experience becomes the pinnacle of the transpersonal experience continuum, particularly when the inner experiences of the individual become integrated with the outer world and the individual moves as an "enlightened" being in the world--being genuinely of service to humanity.

Western society and psychology have been so enamored with the ego and Eastern society with cosmic consciousness that transpersonal psychology indeed represents an attempt at integrating fundamental guiding images for a more complete rendition of the human phenomenon. The Eastern perspective may need to at least recognize that many people are ego-bound and, rather than criticize it, support the reality of the ego as a biological and social survival tool in today's world while at the same time nurturing transpersonal growth. In a similar vein, the Western world is now beginning to balance, integrate, and support the transegoic part of the human phenomenon. Up until the advent of transpersonal psychology, the first three forces in the discipline dealt primarily with ego--used in its most comprehensive sense as the "I" or "me" identification whether in terms of sex, race, personality, intelligence, etc. An exception in Western psychology was Jung who recognized that any psychology that did not propose a core that was stronger than ego was doomed to a partial understanding and rendition of the human phenomenon and of human potential.

Western psychology and its theoretical structures, as well as practices, is now being criticized in this regard for, as Deikman (1982) put it:

> Its center is missing: it does not recognize the observing self as center of all experiences, assigning to it a peripheral function, [and] this very action makes it difficult to understand that. . .a larger self and world can eventually be perceived. (p. 91)

Lilly (1972) described this "observing self" of Deikman as that inner calm within from which one can watch one's own ego and other egos in a high velocity dance. The whole situation to this writer seems comparable to the times before the Copernican revolution when geocentric theory posited the earth as a pivotal body around which all else revolved rather than realizing that all planets, including earth, revolved around a larger, more powerful solar body--the sun.

What unfortunately seems to have happened recently is that the terms holism, interconnectedness, consciousness, and others have become over-popularized and rendered almost meaningless. Moreover, as with all new discoveries and movements, charlatans are attracted. This should in no way negate, however, the image of humankind and world view, cross-fertilized from a number of disciplines and embodied in a transpersonal psychology's study and image of humankind.

Conclusions

The first three focuses, and accordingly images of humankind, derive from explorations and investigation restricted almost exclusively to the Western world. Consequently, such an image would seem inappropriate or at best partial when applied to the international arena. A core feature of transpersonal psychology, on the other hand, is the integration of both Eastern and Western renditions of human phenomenon and ways of knowing.

When we talk about international adult education it seems imperative the elements which unify all of humanity are incorporated within a guiding image. The transpersonal perspective offers that. At the same time, needed is an image and view that will respect and celebrate autonomy, individuality, and cultural differences, while at the same time lead us beyond that to the commonalties and potential global identity that all humanity shares. Transpersonal psychology represents just that.

International adult education by its very nature attempts to help people change and grow. Beliefs about the possible human can greatly affect action. Images set standards which motivate or stultify advances both in terms of practice as well as in further extending our knowledge base. Moreover, international adult education is in a position to educate

humanity about the meaning of adulthood. The intent is not to offer a blueprint, but to maintain awareness of that potential as an image and realistic vision to guide our thought and action toward which we might continually move--whether working with literary, community development, women in third world countries, or the many other facets of international adult education.

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TRAINING EDUCATORS OF ADULTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GRADUATE ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

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Introduction

In a recent SCUTREA presentation a call was made for comparative adult educators to acknowledge the value of micro-level analyses of clearly identifiable adult education structures, practices or research rather than for them constantly to seek to produce macro-level comparisons of societal provision (Titmus, 1984). Macro-level endeavors such as those of Bennett, Kidd, and Kulich (1975), Harris (1980), Charters (1981), Titmus (1981), and Lowe (1982) are, indeed, essential for the advancement of this branch of adult education enquiry. There is, however, a significant role to be played by micro-level comparative analyses of phenomena such as teaching methods, philosophical orientations, legislation, participation in adult education, or evaluative modes. Such analytical efforts form the building blocks of more ambitious, macro-level analytical edifices.

In other transatlantic comparative analyses of adult education research (Brookfield, 1982) and community adult education (Brookfield, in press), an attempt was made to take a readily identifiable aspect of adult education and to consider the extent to which that element of practice, research, or theory was reflective of wider societal structures and orientations. The current paper continues this "building block" enterprise. It takes as its substantive focus the curriculum, methods, and intellectual orientations of postgraduate training for adult educators found within British and American universities. The paper argues that we should regard the methods, curricula, modes of evaluation and intellectual terrain of postgraduate adult education as socio-cultural products. Hence, for us to understand them fully, these practices and intellectual orientations must be examined within their cultural contexts. Graduate programs are not specific, isolated, and idiosyncratic activities; rather they reflect prevailing cultural forms and political ideologies in the manner of their organization and in their intellectual emphasis.

One terminological clarification is necessary before we proceed further. In the United States the term "graduate adult education" is employed to describe the operations of masters and doctoral programs in which students are acquiring a master's or doctoral degree in adult education. In Britain the term "postgraduate" is preferred to refer to the provision of diploma in adult education courses as well as to masters' and doctoral degree programs. In this paper I will employ the term "graduate adult education" as a generic description of diploma, master's, and doctoral programs in the two countries.

Curricula and Methods as Socio-Cultural Products

The habit of viewing adult education curricula and practices as reflective of wider social structures and prevailing political ideologies seems unfamiliar to many adult educators. There are few adult education equivalents of the critical analyses of Young (1971), Lawton (1973, 1975), Eggleston (1977), Bourdieu and Passerson (1977), Bowles and Gintis (1976), and Apple (1980); all of whom demonstrate how school curricula perpetuate prevailing world views, stereotypes, societal values, ideologies, and behavioral norms. These writers regard curricula not as acts of individual program design perpetrated by individual teachers in specific contexts but rather as socio-cultural products. School curricula thus become viewed as social facts; sui generis realities which can be studied as objective realities in much the same way that we examine economic systems or political arrangements.

This mode of analysis allows these theorists to demonstrate the manner in which curricula are designed to be reflective of and sustaining to the prevailing political and economic ideologies. What comprises a school curriculum in terms of a body of public knowledge, accepted ideologies, approved values, and appropriate content becomes a politically significant issue. If schools function to perpetuate prevailing ideologies and if they legitimize a majority culture by socializing individuals to accept that culture, then curricular alterations which

challenge the assumptions of that culture become politically contentious.

Analyses of adult education curricula employing a similar interpretative framework are noticeable only by their absence. A survey of literature and journals of adult education published in this century reveals that very little consideration is given to the culturally constructed nature of adult education curricula. What work has been done on this, at least recently, has come from Britain. In the analyses of Griffin (1983) and Keddie (1980), there is an awareness of the culturally reflective nature of curricula in adult education. Griffin argues that adult educators currently subscribe to an ideology of needs, access and provision, and that the criteria governing this ideology are administrative and organizational and are not grounded in any central philosophical purposes. He does consider the notion of a lifelong curriculum as adumbrated by writers such as Cropley (1976) and Ingram (1979), both of whom have elaborated school based, lifelong curricula for the UNESCO Institute of Education. Their ideas are criticized, however, for being excessively pedagogical and for reproducing categories and concepts of schooling over the adult life span. To Griffin, the most fruitful area for further exploration in adult education curricular analysis is contained in the work of Ettore Gelpi (1979). Because Gelpi views curricula as a function of the social relations of production, Griffin feels that he provides an analytical framework for tracing the causal determinants of what have been identified as the core curricula in adult education in the analyses of Minich (1969) in the United States and Mee and Wiltshire (1978) in Britain.

In passing, it is interesting to note how the felt needs rationale has now become generally accepted as the chief determinant of adult education curricula. In analyses of curricular areas for adult education undertaken by Thatcher (1956), Peters (1974), Jarvis (1978), and Lumsden (1977), we find injunctions for adult educators to stop thinking in terms of fixed curriculum areas for the field but rather to devise curricula which are grounded in and responsive to expressed student needs. Acceptance of this rationale is evinced in the analyses of Minich (1969) and Mee and Wiltshire (1978) whose work in North America and Britain respectively demonstrate how the core curricular areas in adult education programs are not really *core* in the sense of being viewed as limited, central, and necessary at all. Rather, the common adult education curriculum identified by these writers as manifest in programs is distinguished by its very diversity and not by its curricular focus, content nucleus, or knowledge core. It seems that adult educators feel duty bound to respond in some way to the entire range of learner psychomotor, affective, and cognitive needs, which they deem might be evident in the adult population. Typical of such breadth of curricular purposes is McCall and Schenz's (1969) outline of intellectual, social, economic, aesthetic, and physical goals for adult education curriculum developers.

Graduate Adult Education in the United States and Britain

Before proceeding to an analysis of the manner in which programs of professional preparation for adult educators in America and Britain are socio-cultural products, it is important to make some general points about the nature and functions of these programs. The first of these concerns the intellectual history of adult education informing the manner in which training programs are currently organized. The second concerns the difference in the amount of attention which has been devoted to the question of an appropriate graduate adult education curriculum by adult educators in both countries. The third has to do with the enormous difference in the scale of the graduate adult education enterprise in the two countries.

The Intellectual History of Adult Education

Students of adult education, practitioners, and even professors and lecturers in adult education within universities can be remarkably ethnocentric. No analyst of comparative adult education can fail to be surprised, even intrigued, by the lack of common intellectual reference points exhibited by adult educators in Britain and American in particular. American adult education as presented in histories such as those of Grattan (1965), Adams (1944), and Knowles (1977) is cast within a liberal-democratic framework. Adult education is viewed as an enhancement to the realization of individualism. This tradition is evident in the early works of Lindeman (1926) and can be traced through the Great Books program to the current popularity of the related ideas of

andragogy (Knowles, 1984) and self-directed learning (Knowles, 1975). It is no accident that research and theory focusing on self-directed learning (Brookfield 1984a, 1985) should be the major growth area in adult education in the United States in the last 15 years; yet, it is relatively unexplored in Europe. The repeated finding that adults design, conduct, and evaluate their own learning in an independent manner is a perfect enhancement to the American ethos of rugged individualism.

In Britain, on the other hand, there is much less consensual agreement on what comprises any kind of central tradition. To many, the adult education movement is inextricably tied to the development of the trade union movement, the Labour party, and worker education. This tradition is manifest most recently in the works of Thompson (1980) and Lovett (1975, 1983). Their intellectual forerunners are Mansbridge, Tawney, and the 1919 Report, and they fuse elements of Freire's ideas with community development and community action practices. Contrary to this trend, however, is an intellectually inclined, cognitive view of adult education as closer to a traditional liberal education. Such a view is present in Livingstone's *On Education* (1945) and is represented in contemporary terms in the work of Paterson (1979) and Lawson (1979, 1982). In contrast to the largely consensual, liberal democratic tradition evident in American adult education, then, British adult education is characterized by a clear division between adult educators concerning the importance of the connection between adult education and political activity. A very real debate rages in British adult education between those who view adult education in terms of individual cultural enhancement and those who set adult education within the context of social and political movements. No such public debate between clearly articulated polarities is currently present in American adult education.

Developing a Graduate Adult Education Curriculum

A second major difference between the United States and Britain concerns the amount and intensity of attention devoted by adult educators to the question of what should be a suitable curriculum for those preparing to join the profession. In the United States there exists a substantial body of literature examining the forms of knowledge to which future adult educators should be exposed and the skills they should develop. Guidelines regarding skills and knowledge appropriate to adult educators have been issued by Hallenbeck (1948), Overstreet and Overstreet (1941), Verner and Booth (1964), Liveright (1964), Grabowski (1976, 1981), Miller and Verduin (1979), and Carter (1983). Analyses of the specific competencies required by adult educators have been undertaken by Chamberlain (1961), Knowles (1962), Robinson (1962), Daniel and Rose (1982), and Mocker and Noble (1981).

Because graduate adult education training is a much less ambitious enterprise in British universities, the amount of literature devoted to devising an appropriate graduate training curriculum is correspondingly smaller. The two monographs authored by Elsdon (1975, 1984) are the best known pieces in this area although recently there have been published a review of research on training (Charnley, Osborn, & Withnall, 1982) and a study of the preparation of part-time teachers of adults (Graham, Daines, Sullivan, & Baum, 1982). We can anticipate that the introduction of the three stage ACSET scheme for the training of adult education teachers (ACSET, 1980) will prompt an increase in attention granted to training procedures used with adult educators.

The Scale of the Graduate Adult Education Enterprise

According to a number of external indicators, graduate adult education in the United States is on a much larger scale than that in the United Kingdom. Quantitative differences do not, of course, necessarily reflect any qualitative dimension; there may be a law of diminishing returns applying to the amount of institutional and personnel resources invested in the training effort, and British university adult educators could certainly make a claim that the intimacy of their world makes for more meaningful contact with students.

It is true, however, that in terms of the number of university departments engaged in training adult educators, the numbers of students enrolled in courses in such programs, the number of lecturers or professors working in such programs, and the amount (though not necessarily the quality) of advanced research undertaken, the United States seems to take more seriously the business of graduate adult

education. There are currently almost 300 full, affiliate, or associate members of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education in the United States; all of whom are in some way engaged in running programs in graduate adult education in universities throughout the country and in Canada. It is not uncommon for there to be over 100 students enrolled on master's or doctoral degree courses in adult education. In my own institution there are approximately 130 doctoral students currently registered in the adult education program together with a small number of master's students.

Given these numbers of professors and doctoral students it is not surprising that a great deal more research into aspects of adult education is generated in America than in Britain. For a quarter of a century, there has been an annual adult education research conference (AERC) meeting at which 45 to 50 papers and several symposia are presented on aspects of research in adult education. Publication opportunities for students and faculty to publish research are greater in the United States, a fact amply demonstrated by Long's (1977) finding that the professors of adult education he surveyed published in over 300 journals. This is a very different picture from the chief annual adult education research meeting in Britain, the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA). Unlike AERC, which is comprised more or less equally of graduate students and professors presenting their research, SCUTREA is comprised wholly of university lecturers who present 10 to 15 papers at each annual meeting. There is currently no forum in Britain at which graduate students can present their research to a wider audience of interested academics and researchers. Neither are there the opportunities for publishing research in a wide range of journals such as exists in North America.

Graduate Adult Education as a Socio-Cultural Product

It is clear, then, that in terms of intellectual history, in the attention devoted to developing a graduate adult education curriculum, and in the scale of the training enterprise, America and Britain exhibit some important differences. Nonetheless, the unity of purpose--the professional preparation or professional development of adult educators--exhibited by university departments of adult education in the two countries does constitute a valid comparative base line for some useful analysis. In both countries a group of university academics are engaged in preparing future professional adult educators or in assisting in the professional development of those already engaged in this activity. These lecturers and professors are devising training curricula, choosing appropriate methods, generating criteria for evaluating the performance of adult educators, conducting what is seen as appropriate research, and building a body of professional literature. Notwithstanding differences in intellectual history, amount of published literature on curricula, and the scale of these efforts in the two countries, we can employ a number of analytical categories to make some meaningful comparisons concerning the nature and form of graduate adult education in America and Britain.

The following analysis makes use of six analytical categories. Graduate adult education programs in the two countries are analyzed in terms of (a) their historicity, (b) their political context, (c) their philosophical orientation, (d) their specification of the competencies required of professional adult educators, (e) the concept of adult education informing these programs of professional preparation and development, and (f) their contrasting paradigms of appropriate research. The theoretical framework underlying the construction of these analytical categories is drawn from comparative sociology and from the sociology of knowledge. The most renowned of all comparative sociologists, Max Weber (1947), argued that bodies of knowledge, belief systems, religious creeds, and economic arrangements could only be understood if they were viewed as the historical products of a particular society. His ideas on the social construction of forms of knowledge and belief systems were developed by Mannheim in his *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (1952) and in Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1967).

In the context of the present paper, the argument is made that we should view programs of graduate adult education as reflective of their broader, host culture. Such programs can only be fully understood if they are seen as socio-cultural products. Hence, in the following paragraphs the assumptions and criteria

governing what are considered to be appropriate curricula, methods, evaluative procedures, and research activities in graduate adult education programs, are interpreted within the framework of the host society's political ideologies. The argument is made that the pragmatic tenor, individualistic ethos, and entrepreneurial spirit of American culture is directly apparent in the organization of programs of graduate adult education. Conversely, it is also maintained that the political self-consciousness and awareness of historicity evident in British graduate adult education programs is a function of the wider society's more politicized nature. To the extent to which adult education ideas, systems, and practices are placed within a broader socio-cultural context, this paper is taking further the advocation of Titmus (1981) that we place case studies of adult education within a national context, moving from understanding general social structures to an analysis of particular adult educational arrangements.

Two points need to be made before proceeding to a discussion of the six comparative categories identified earlier. The first of these concerns the dangers of seeking too assiduously that Holy Grail of comparative adult educators, generalizability. In terms of inter-cultural comparisons and in terms of intra-cultural statements, it is all too easy to propose as empirically verifiable generalizations what are really intuitive insights. This is not to denigrate the enormous value of intuitive insights; it is merely to caution against too ready an acceptance of generalizations concerning whole cultures, systems, or ideologies.

Secondly, in comparative, cross-cultural analyses of educational systems it is possible to erect false, mutually exclusive dichotomies in which each contrasting system is held to be composed of elements found only in that particular system. The comparative analyst is faced with such a bewildering empirical chaos that erecting such dichotomies or typological classifications is a comforting way of making some kind of sense and order out of this complexity. In the present paper, however, the fact that American and British graduate adult education is held to display different orientations in terms of six analytical categories, should not be interpreted as a statement that *all* departments in each country exhibit *only* the characteristics ascribed to that country in the analysis. Such a conclusion would be premature and misleading. There will be departments of adult education in the United States which exhibit some elements of what are proposed as British preoccupations and practices. This writer's own department is a case in point. The converse will also be true. The argument advanced within this paper is that there are identifiable broad differences which are sufficiently empirically verifiable that we can talk usefully (though carefully) of the American and British approach to graduate adult education. It is further argued that such broad differences as are proposed can be understood only in terms of each culture's political, economic, and intellectual culture.

Having issued the foregoing two caveats concerning the necessity for scepticism when analyzing accounts based on inter-cultural generalizations and mutually exclusive dichotomies, it is appropriate now to state in broad terms the arguments in this paper concerning the manner in which graduate adult education can be understood as a socio-cultural product. Generally speaking, then, it is proposed that the two cultures exhibit differences in ideology, political structure, and economic arrangement which are reflected in their respective graduate adult education programs. The United States is a culture of pragmatism and of political consensuality. There is a broad acceptance of the capitalist ethic as the unchallenged "natural" mode of economic arrangement with ideas of free-enterprise and entrepreneurial spirit accepted almost as unchallenged givens. Inter-party differences reflected in the Democratic party's advocacy of higher levels of spending on public welfare programs compared to that of the Republican Party must be understood as occurring within this consensus framework. Both parties unhesitatingly accept the capitalist free-enterprise ethic to be the embodiment of the American approach to economic management, reflecting the ideas of individuality and freedom which lie at the core of the culture.

This consensuality was commented on by the American adult educator, Eduard Lindeman, some 40 years ago. In a paper on *New Needs for Adult Education* (Lindeman, 1944) he urged as a major task for adult education the prompting of adults to consider the suitability of different economic arrangements (socialism, free enterprise, and the mixed economy) for democratic societies. In his earlier *The Meaning of Adult Education,* (1926) he had condemned the infusion of capitalist ethics into the educational enterprise. To Lindeman,

capitalism was a doubtful, competitive ethic designed to favor the crafty, strong, and truculent. He warned that the entire American educational system was becoming determined by its responsiveness to profit production.

As well as the virtually unchallenged acceptance of the capitalist, free-enterprise ethic, there also exists in the United States a consensus on the range of political, i.e., ideological, debate which is permissible. America, alone amongst members of the Western Alliance, does not contain within its political culture clearly articulated ideological polarities of left and right wing persuasions. In European societies individuals are used to considering ideas, policies, propaganda, and party statements drawn from a wide philosophical spectrum. There are right wing, left wing, and centrist groupings in every political system and at different times ruling groups which subscribe to socialist, social democratic, capitalist, and fascist ideologies.

In European cultures, therefore, individuals are used to witnessing intellectual battles between clearly articulated and opposed ideologies. Governments of different political hues rise and fall, but one enters adulthood with a perspective that there are viable alternatives available in the way in which political and economic structures might be managed and altered. Adults are used to viewing and participating in vigorous debates concerning the merits of contrasting ideologies. They are open to discussing prescriptive questions about which of a number of ideologies are better, more human, or more efficient.

No such freedom of debate and consideration of a range of contrasting and alternative ideologies exists for the great majority of adults in the United States. There are, of course, debates between Democratic and Republican party adherents concerning the degree to which adjustments might be made to the free-enterprise system to ensure that it encourages production, economic growth, and individual enterprise. The basic system is rarely criticized, however, concerning its fundamental correctness in either ethical or economic terms. In contrast to European cultures, it is possible to reach adulthood in the United States with little awareness of any viable alternative to the free-enterprise system and with no comprehension of alternative political philosophies. In particular, social democratic and socialist philosophies are rejected out of hand as appropriate only to totalitarian communist societies. Given the frequent existence of social democratic and socialist governments among the chief European allies of the United States since 1945 (Britain, France, and West Germany), this apparent rejection of alternative political philosophies is often difficult for Europeans to understand.

In contrast to the United States, the United Kingdom is a society in which adult learners and adult educators will have attained adulthood after having lived as a citizen under governments of (in ideological terms if not in practical policy decisions) clearly opposed philosophies. They will be used to discussing prescriptive questions and to giving justifications for their ideas in terms of fundamental views of the nature of society and individual behavior. They will perhaps have assimilated an analytical framework in which the workings of British society and perhaps of their own immediate milieu are understood in terms of warring class interests.

Coming to view a society's operations and perhaps one's own life in terms of opposing and competing class interests, encourages a world view very different from the consensual perspective so typically American. One becomes used to viewing society not as a plurality of mutually complementary sub-cultures in which individual initiative is rewarded with status and money but as a perpetual arena of class and sub-cultural warfare. In such an arena, education is frequently claimed by various antagonists to be an arm of the struggle for equality, efficiency, productivity, or revolution. Hence, in European cultures generally it is quite usual to regard education as a tool of social reform or social engineering. To this extent education is assigned a pro-active role; it is seen as having the prime function of creating a certain social order rather than simply being required to adapt to the requirements and demands of free market forces.

There are, of course, American educators who subscribe wholly to the view of society as composed of competing class, sub-cultural, or ethnic interests which I have characterized as "European." Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Kozol (1967) are examples of theorists who have detailed the manner in which the school sector functions to perpetuate often unacknowledged class and ethnic inequalities. In terms of adult education, Lindeman described America in the 1920's as "a vast network of power

groups, each vying with the other for supremacy" (1926, p. 516). More recently, a number of adult educators have interpreted Paulo Freire's ideas in the context of the United States and have outlined the liberatory function of adult education as the prompting in adults of a desire to create more congenial community structures. For example, in his essay on *Action, Freedom and Liberatory Education* Heaney (1984) declares that "when it occurs, liberatory education is less likely to be known *as education* and more likely to be identified as community action" (p. 122). A similar connection between reflective learning and the engagement in some form of collective action has been made in North American adult education initiatives such as the Highlander Folk School and the Antigonish movement (Brookfield, 1983). On the whole, however, this perspective is severely underrepresented in the mainstream of American adult education.

Thus far I have proposed a number of general propositions concerning the contrasting nature of American and British culture respectively. It is now time to consider the manner in which graduate programs of adult education reflect the wider culture of which they are a part. This consideration will be undertaken through a comparison of these programs in terms of the six analytical categories identified earlier.

Historicity

The concept of historicity refers to the awareness by subjects of their actions as being located within a series of sequential, linear events. This awareness nurtures in individuals a realization that their lives, the social structures in which these lives are embedded, and the belief systems which inform them are historical products. Hence, individuals who possess an awareness of historicity are seeking to comprehend the historical antecedents which have helped shape the present. Such individuals view contemporary events not as a-historical, pragmatic adaptations to some previously unforeseen current eventuality but rather as being determined at least in part by previous events.

In programs of graduate adult education a clear difference is evident in the degree of historicity exhibited by organizers and participants in Britain and America. Within the British system, professors and lecturers appear to many Americans to be preoccupied with the historical origins of British adult education. Typical of this view is Boshier's noting the "somewhat compulsive penchant for historical research" (Boshier, 1977, p. 232) in British adult education, and it is true that in the journal *Studies in Adult Education* and in graduate research projects, historical studies of a sophisticated nature are well represented. In Brookfield's (1982) analysis of abstracts of adult education research, historical studies were one of the chief categories of research evident in Great Britain. In terms of adult education historiography, Kelly's *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* (1970) is probably the single best known work of historical research in the field.

In terms of graduate adult education, this preoccupation with the historical origins of British adult education is evident not only in the numbers of master's and doctoral theses which investigate historical themes but also in the numbers of taught courses in diploma of adult education courses which deal with the history of adult education. In the 1983 SCUTREA *Guide to University Courses for Adult Educators in the United Kingdom and Eire* (SCUTREA, 1983) courses or options for study in the history of adult education are widely available in British programs.

When we turn to graduate adult education in the United States, however, it is evident that historical analyses of the development of adult education in America are rarely undertaken either as major scholarship efforts by leaders or for master's or doctoral dissertations. In the decades between Brunner's (1959) review of research and Grabowski's (1980) analysis of *Trends in Graduate Research,* the emphasis of researchers has remained firmly on applied research. This finding is confirmed by the analyses of De Crow (1969), Copeland and Grabowski (1971), Hiemstra (1976), and Long (1983). In fact the most recent of these analyses notes specifically that "compared with the British condition, the historical dimensions of adult education in the United States are impoverished" (Long, 1983, p. 264). Long goes on to say that "authors in Great Britain have provided relatively extensive and intensive historical treatment of adult education in their nation" and that, by way of contrast, the historical foundations as developed and reported in the United States are "unusually weak" (p. 264).

Support for the a-historical nature of American graduate adult education is provided by a study conducted by Day and McDermott (1980) in which adult education graduate students at a large Midwestern university were reported to be generally ignorant of historical works such as the 1919 Report, *The Meaning of Adult Education* (Lindeman, 1926), *Adult Education in Action* (Ely, 1936), *Adult Education* (Bryson, 1936) *Ten Years of Adult Education* (Cartwright, 1935), and *Adult Education in a Free Society* (Blakely, 1958). They were also unfamiliar with the general histories of adult education in the field such as those of Grattan (1965) and Knowles (1977). The authors then sent their questionnaire to other departments and gathered 192 responses from 37 different graduate adult education programs in the United States. As reported in a letter to this author (July, 1984), the findings from this range of departments confirmed the findings of the original study.

In the last few years there has been something of a revival of concern for the historical foundations of adult education in America at least among professors of adult education and some graduate students. This renewed interest has taken a number of forms. Firstly, the national adult education research conference (AERC) in 1982 and 1983 has conducted a mini-history conference, which was held prior to the main conference gathering. This has resulted in a marked increase in historical research papers being given at the most recent AERC conference, such as those of Craver (1984), Hellyer and Schied (1984), Rielly (1984), Rockhill (1984), and Omolewa (1984).

Secondly, the professors involved in the mini-history conference have begun to establish courses in the historical foundations of adult education. A recent example of this is the course currently taught at Syracuse University on "Historical Perspectives of Adult Education".

Thirdly, the AERC mini-history conference has prompted the publication of a series of occasional papers titled *Historical Foundations of Adult Education: A Bulletin of Research and Information* Finally, there is currently something of a revival of interest in the ideas of Eduard Lindeman as evidenced in a number of recent papers and presentations (Brookfield, 1984b; Rielly, 1984; Stewart, 1983). Since such analyses of Lindeman's work place his ideas in their historical context, more is coming to be known about American adult education in the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's.

Notwithstanding the recent revival of interest outlined above, however, it is still accurate to say that the majority of professors of adult education and, hence, the majority of programs in the United States do not regard promoting an understanding or inculcating in students a sense of the history of the field to be a major priority. This is in contrast to Britain where it would be hard to imagine students leaving diploma in adult education or master's courses without knowing of the traditions and history of the field. As already mentioned, much of the historical research conducted within British university departments of adult education finds its way into journals such as *Studies in Adult Education* as well as on to dissertation shelves in academic libraries.

Exposure to this historical tradition means that British adult education graduate students are aware of the connections between workers' education, the development of the Labour Party, and the growth of adult education provision. This means that the history of British adult education comes to be interpreted and explored within a political context. Recent papers by Fieldhouse (1983), Marks (1982), Marriott (1981), and Field (1980), all in *Studies in Adult Education,* deal with historical matters such as nineteenth century views on workers' education, ideology in English adult education teaching from 1925 to 1950, and unemployment and adult education in the 1930's. Students exploring such issues as historical research problems can hardly fail to speculate on the political dimensions of adult education. It is this consideration of the political context of adult education which comprises the second analytical category in this comparative discussion of the organization and purposes of graduate adult education in America and Britain.

Political Context

This second analytical category--political context--refers to the marked contrast between British and American university departments of adult education in terms of the way in which an understanding of adult education is held to be linked to an appreciation of its political purpose. For the purposes of this discussion, the concept of political purpose refers to the perception of adult education as the educational arm of some movement for social

reform. In Britain, for example, the growth of the adult education movement is understood by many to take place in the context of a worker education movement. This point has already been made in the previous section. As well as the papers cited there, it is interesting to note that the major analyses by Harrison (1961) and Kelly (1970) devote a considerable amount of space to discussing the political impetus given to adult education by the activities of the trade union movement, the Labour Party, working men's colleges, self-help reading circles, the chartists, and the Workers' Educational Association.

In contemporary terms, a number of adult educators who place themselves within a community activist tradition or who see themselves as offering a radical critique of adult education clearly argue for the political mission of adult education. To Fletcher (1980), Keddie (1980), Thompson (1980, 1983), Lovett (1975, 1983) and Joyce (1973), adult educational activities have a clear political dimension. Through encouraging adults to examine critically the taken for granted assumptions by which they have lived and to imagine alternatives to their current ways of living and thinking, adult educators are charged with assisting adults to take control over their personal and collective circumstances. This empowerment process has a clear political dimension in that it urges adults not just to renegotiate their personal relationships or professional lives but also to create more convivial and responsive community structures and policy alternatives.

There are, of course, many American adult educators working centrally within the context of empowerment. They look not only to Freire but also to Gramsci and, more parochially, to Myles Horton. Typical of such a perspective is the work of Heaney (1983, 1984). The point is, however, that this work does not generally inform graduate adult education in the United States. There is a dearth of courses on the community activist dimensions of adult educational work and a noticeable absence of any attention to the history of the American labor education movement. Apart from isolated papers such as that by Hellyer and Schied (1984), it is as if to American adult educators at least, the labor education activities of the earlier part of this century never existed. Suggesting to students within most American graduate adult education programs that they study the labor education movement as a programmatic model for adult education in the 1980's would be received very sceptically. I will return to this theme in the discussion of the competencies deemed to be required of adult educators which are framed within graduate programs of adult education.

Philosophical Orientation

The absence of a philosophical dimension from current discussion in American adult education is a socio-historical conundrum of considerable interest. It is not just as studies of research (Brookfield, 1982) suggest that systematic enquiry in the field is framed within the context of applications of technique and practice. It is also that the habit of engaging in vigorous debate on alternative prescriptive purposes for adult education seems to have become comparatively rare. The 1980 Adult Education Association of America Handbooks series, for example, contained no volume devoted to charting a philosophical mission for the field. Kreitlow (1981) did raise some controversial questions for discussion; some of which addressed fundamental purposes. Nowhere, however, was there a sustained analysis of the philosophical purpose of adult education or a discussion of the criteria by which we might judge whether or not that purpose was being realized.

This is in sharp contrast to periods as recently as the 1950's and early 1960's when a ferment of philosophical discourse on the proper purposes of adult education bubbled within the pages of the two chief American journals in the field, *Adult Education* and *Adult Leadership*. During these years the *Adult Leadership* journal featured a column in each issue headed *Accent on Social Philosophy* sponsored by the AEA/USA committee on social philosophy and direction finding. In this column individual writers were invited to explore the social relevance of adult education, to address the questions of the day, and to discuss the response adult educators should make to political issues. One outcome of this was the committee's publication of seven *Principles which should guide the American Adult Education Movement* (Pell, 1952). Other important analyses produced during this time are those of Kallen (1962), Powell (1956) and Bergevin (1967).

In the 1980's, however, such philosophical discussions run the risk of being perceived by

many professionals as immature and amateur meanderings. The current tenor of American adult education is pragmatic and technical, and any debate about fundamental purposes or philosophical rationales is likely to be regarded by many as an indulgence and as peripheral to the task of creating a professional community. As we shall see in the next section, the professional adult educator is not generally seen as someone who requires either a degree of philosophical sophistication or indeed an ability to articulate a clear philosophical rationale by which practice might be shaped and judged.

In Britain, however, graduate students in adult education are typically exposed to a debate within the prescriptive realm concerning what should be the proper purposes of adult education. There are debates concerning the social role of adult education (Joyce, 1973; Paterson, 1973), calls to put politics back on the agenda (Simey, 1978) and calls to adult educators to attack contemporary priorities in policy (Ruddock, 1974). The analytic philosophical tradition is represented in the work of Paterson (1979) and Lawson (1979, 1982) and represents a clearly discernible philosophical counterpoint to the work of Lovett, Fletcher, Keddie, and Thompson mentioned earlier.

It is not unusual, then, for students in British departments of adult education to be required to consider contrasting philosophical orientations within their academic studies. There is much less of a consensus about what comprises adult education. In American graduate programs of adult education, however, an academic orthodoxy currently reigns which takes the following form: adults are innately self-directed as learners, and therefore the task of the facilitator (not the teacher) is to assist adults to achieve the learning goals they have defined. Such facilitation is felt to comprise a democratic, student-centered ethos wholly appropriate to adult education.

In Britain adult educators are much more likely to challenge the felt needs rationale outlined above. This is as true of analytic philosophers such as Lawson (1979) as it is of social activists. To both groups adults are seen as not always being the best judge of their interests and as being locked within narrow constraining paradigms of thought and practice which prevent them from ever imagining alternatives to their current ways of thinking and living. Hence, the marketing approach to adult education which is represented by this satisfaction of consumer needs is rejected by writers in both these schools.

Competencies Required of Professionals

As mentioned earlier, there has been a good deal of effort expended by American adult educators on developing lists of desired competencies of professional adult educators. In the analyses of Chamberlain (1961), Knowles (1962), Robinson (1962), Daniel and Rose (1982), and Mocker and Noble (1981), we find specifications of the armory of adult educational skills, knowledge, and affective attributes of which the acquisition are deemed to be desirable. There is a substantial body of practical literature dealing with how to acquire the skills considered necessary in these analyses. Hence, aspiring adult educators attending courses designed to improve their professional performance will become familiar with a formidable body of literature concerned with techniques of needs assessment, objectives setting, design of instruction, management of instruction, budgeting, marketing, advisement, counseling, and evaluation.

It is in this area of helping graduate students to become technically proficient and, therefore, professional adult educators that one of the most glaring divides between the United States and Britain is evident. In the United States, graduate students in the course of earning a master's or doctoral degree will be required to undertake courses on program planning or development, evaluation of adult education, design and management of instruction, organization and administration of adult education, and staff development and training. Courses concerned with the development of these programmatic, instructional, and administrative skills are indeed the staple diet of the graduate adult education curriculum. In certification exams, in dissertations or theses, and in their course work, American students are expected to display a familiarity with techniques of needs assessments, models of program planning, instructional design, and evaluation technique far beyond that typically required of their British counterparts. The literature base for this acquisition of technique is comprised of works such as those by Knowles (1980), Houle (1972), Boyle (1981), Knox and Associates (1980), Klevins (1982), Shaw (1969), Pennington (1980), Davis (1974), Lauffer (1977), Farlow (1979), Langerman and Smith (1979),

and Strother and Klus (1982). Apart from the first two of these works, very few British adult education students would know of these books, and they would not appear on reading lists in British departments.

A central component of the curriculum of American graduate adult education, then, is comprised of courses designed to inculcate or refine a battery of program developmental, administrative, and instructional skills. These would certainly be offered in conjunction with some form of foundations course on the history, philosophy, and sociology of adult education, but such a course would be seen as an introductory, ground-clearing exercise before beginning the "real" business of improving technique. The consummate adult educator, according to this curriculum, would be the one who exhibits a mastery of the varied skills of needs assessments, setting objectives, developing programs in different modes, designing and managing instruction, and evaluating adult education activities.

This is very different from the curriculum of graduate adult education which is generally found within the British university system. It is not uncommon for students to take *separate* courses on the history, the philosophy, and the sociology of adult education. Whereas in the United States these areas of enquiry are integrated into one overview "Foundations" course, in Britain it is felt they are each of such significance as to be deserving of separate courses. In British graduate programs, therefore, the professionally trained adult educator is seen in a very different way from that pertaining in the United States. Instead of conceiving of a professional as one familiar with a battery of program developmental, instructional, and evaluative skills, a professional is viewed as someone who can place the operations of adult education within a broader historical and sociological context. He or she will be aware of the historical antecedents to the present state of adult education and will have considered the extent to which adult education structures enhance social mobility, further social transformation, or support existing economic and ideological structures. He or she will also be familiar with a range of contrasting ideological positions regarding the proper philosophical purposes of adult education. Courses, assignments, theses, and literature concerning techniques of needs assessments, program planning models, approaches to setting objectives, budgeting and marketing procedures, and evaluative methods are most emphatically *not* the staple diet of graduate adult education in British universities.

The Concept of Adult Education

Many of the comments in this section have already been implicit at various points in the discussion earlier in the paper. In particular, the curricula of typical courses in British and American departments can be seen to be premised on fundamentally different conceptualizations of the nature of adult education. In the discussion of the philosophical orientation in Britain and the United States, it was argued that American adult education was in danger of accepting wholeheartedly an academic orthodoxy derived from ideas of adult education as the meeting of adults' felt needs and the adult educator as the facilitator of learning charted by the learner.

Lawson (1979) and Monette (1977, 1979) have both offered some trenchant criticisms of this orthodoxy. As they point out, the felt needs rationale is one which appears admirably democratic, humanistic, and learner-centered. It is also one which apparently removes from the educator the need to make contentious judgements concerning the merits of alternative curricular offerings. The consummate professional, according to this rationale, is the one who accurately assesses what adults want in educational programs and who then successfully mounts courses, workshops, seminars and other activities which satisfy these expressed needs. The criteria by which success is judged in these instances become easily observable, external, and unequivocal. They are the numbers of adults attending courses and the subsequent revenue generated.

According to this rationale, then, the responsibility for determining worthwhile curricula rests largely with the learner. The educator's task becomes simply to "facilitate" the learner's acquiring whichever skills or knowledge he or she considers desirable. The logical outcome of this rationale is for adult educators to come to see themselves as skilled marketeers and consummate technicians of program planning. A good adult educator from this point of view is one who gives adults what they say they want, who markets successful programs, and who generates revenue for the sponsoring agency. Discussion of the relative

worthwhileness, value, or merit of different curricular offerings becomes, therefore, irrelevant. It does not matter whether one is offering programs in aerobics, sushi cookery, fascism, microcomputing for personal advancement, political literacy, or music appreciation. Consideration of what might be the fundamental purposes of adult education appears arcane and outmoded in this view since the overriding purpose becomes to attract large numbers of participants by providing programs which they desire. In this rationale, then, the consumerist justification for adult education lurks behind what appears to be an admirable democratic student-centeredness.

There are, of course, many Americans who object to this view of the adult educator as technician of program development. The point is, however, that such dissenting viewpoints are still severely under-represented in the curricula of American graduate adult education. In the majority of university departments courses, assignments, theses, and literature concentrate on the development of program planning, staff development, and administrative skills. In the plethora of textbooks on aspects of program planning, needs assessment, instructional design, and evaluation for adult educators, we can see how acceptance of this felt needs rationale has become enshrined in the American literature base.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, the curriculum of adult education found on university training courses is generally much less technically oriented. Students are far more likely to spend a considerable amount of time writing assignments, taking courses, producing dissertations, and reading books concerned with the history of adult education, with the philosophical divergence inherent in alternative interpretations of the field, and with the socio-political dimensions to adult educational practice. A central concern becomes identifying what ought to be the central purpose of adult education whether this is developing discriminatory capacities appropriate to a liberally educated adult or working in an adult educational capacity with political action movements. Much discussion among students and faculty both in formal courses and in informal settings would focus on these concerns.

An analogy drawn from broadcasting might help here. The difference between the British and American conceptions of what comprises "good" adult education might be understood to be analogous to the differences in what is considered to be successful television in the two countries. In Britain, two of the four television channels are publicly funded, advertisement-free channels in which the entertainment function is enshrined in charter as only one of three central functions. Under the influence of Lord Reith the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was established with the triple charge of informing, educating, and entertaining the public. When the commercial Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was brought into existence in 1954, this same specification of functions was evident.

On British television, then, half of the televisual offerings (those of the BBC) are publicly funded. Many are populist in nature--quiz shows, variety shows, situation comedies--but a significant proportion are informative (e.g., news broadcasts, analyses of current events, and documentaries) and educational (usually run by the education department of the BBC). The programmatic balance reflects a belief, which is enshrined in the charter, that the BBC has a responsibility over and above providing what viewers find most appealing. Hence, documentaries, current affairs programs, programs exploring alternative interpretations of political events, and dramatic works which do not have widespread appeal are the regular fare of the BBC's offerings.

In the United States, the balance between commercial and public television is much more slewed than the rough parity which exists in the British system. The great majority of channels and the great majority of air time on these channels is taken up with programs designed to cater to mass tastes. Hence, typical "prime time" viewing fare comprises situation comedies, detective stories, spy serials, and endless game shows. Admittedly this is true of the commercial networks in Britain, but such networks comprise only half of the available channels. In America they comprise somewhere around 90%. The 10% of broadcasting time claimed by the public television channels in America is comprised chiefly of the kinds of more "serious" informational and educational programs offered by the BBC. In fact many of the programs are BBC productions. The criteria governing what are deemed to be successful programs to the commercial networks are, of course, purely financial. A good television program (like a good adult education program) is considered to be one which attracts a large

audience in that it meets adults' expectations and desires.

Differences in television broadcasting like differences in the organization of graduate adult education are reflective of wider cultural factors. If, as has already been argued, there is a broad consensus acceptance of a capitalist ethic, free enterprise, and an individual person-centered ethic, then it is not surprising that adult education in America reflects this consensus viewpoint. To summarize, in the two cultures there are evident differences in the criteria adopted when judging good television or adult education programs. In the one (the United States) economic measures of numbers attending and revenues generate predominate. In the other (Britain) judgements of worthwhileness which focus on cognitive, curricular or political aspects are much more frequently offered as alternatives to criteria which emphasize solely the generation of revenue through large numbers of students attending.

Paradigms of Appropriate Research

The question of differences in the execution and conceptualization of research in these two countries has already been the subject of elaboration by this author (Brookfield 1982), so an extended discussion of this is probably not in order at this point. It is important to mention, however, that the prevailing emphases in adult education research among graduate students in the United States are of empirical and applied research. Analyses of adult education journals, annual Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) proceedings, meta-research analyses such as those of Long (1982), Dickinson and Rusnell (1971), Long and Agyekum (1974), and Long (1977), and registers of research (Sork, 1979; Grabowski, 1980) reveal that master's and doctoral theses and dissertations commonly take the form of reviews of needs assessments, case studies of program innovations, or comparative analyses of program development techniques. Dissertations taking the form of philosophical analyses or historical research are relatively rare.

It is not surprising to find that American adult education research conducted within graduate education is concerned principally with applications of technique or reviews of practice since the whole analysis within this paper reveals that technical, program development skills are valued above all others. If the consummate professional is seen as someone who can survey adult educational needs of learners, design a course to meet those needs, select an appropriately qualified instructor, and mount the course with effective promotional and marketing techniques, then the curricular emphasis and research priorities within courses of professional preparation are going to reflect this belief.

Within British departments of adult education, however, historical and philosophical research is much more in evidence. Bibliographies and registers of research such as those of Kelly (1974), Charnley (1974), Legge (1977) and Mee (1978) as well as the comparative content analysis of *Studies in Adult Education* (UK) and *Adult Education* (USA) undertaken by Guy (1976) reveal that students and faculty in British departments of adult education much more frequently publish philosophical analyses, historical research, and personal digressions under the heading of research. British adult educators are, of course, conducting research into participation patterns, adult learning, and instructional effectiveness, but this research does not assume the prominence it does in the United States.

Conclusion

Despite this writer's best intentions, it may be that it has not been possible to avoid the danger mentioned at the outset of this paper of creating mutually exclusive but wholly artificial dichotomies. There will be many British and American readers who do not recognize themselves or their professional milieu in the foregoing analysis. Nonetheless, a decade of research and teaching within British and North American universities together with an analysis of the public face of adult education as reflected in journals and published works convinces me that discernible differences of the kind indicated do exist and that such differences reflect broad socio-cultural characteristics. There may be valid and accurate objections to the degrees and forms of differences identified in this particular paper. The fact remains, however, that programs of graduate adult education can only be understood in their socio-cultural context. The most significant features of the respective cultures for this analysis have been identified, and their effect on the organization of graduate adult education discussed.

This visit by a party of American academics to the SCUTREA 1984 conference in Bristol, England, and the upcoming visit by a party of British academics to the 1984 American Association for Adult and Continuing Education conference in Louisville, Kentucky, may mark the beginning of a more determined exchange of perspectives on adult education than has previously been the case. At the very least, such exchanges may encourage others to initiate the kind of micro-level comparative analysis undertaken in this paper.

The foregoing analysis does not presume to be definitive. It is intended as a contribution to debate and as a prompt to encourage others to continue the work of building a body of comparative adult education literature particularly with regard to Britain and North America. Individual adult educators will no doubt cite instances which contradict the typologies or generalizations advanced within this paper. The central argument remains, however, intact; it is that the organization, curriculum, practice, literature, intellectual orientation and evaluation of graduate adult education must be understood as reflective of the broader culture and not as a series of institution and person-specific actions or preferences. It is to be hoped that future investigations of adult education organization and practice--intra-cultural as well as cross-cultural--will place their analyses firmly within an appreciation of the manner in which adult education is a socio-cultural product which is reflective of and sometimes sustaining to wider structures and ideologies.

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ANALYZING THE SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM EFFECTIVENESS OF CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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Introduction

In most of the research on the effectiveness of continuing professional education (CPE), the research question has been framed as "Does CPE improve professional performance?" Of course, the answer to the question is that some programs result in improved performance and others fail to do so. Published reports have demonstrated behavior change resulting from CPE programs for nurses (Cox & Baker, 1981), dentists (Chambers, et al., 1976), pharmacists (Benfield, et al., 1977), physicians (Stein, 1981), and teachers (Mayer, et al., 1975). In addition, two studies (Inui, et al., 1976; Mayer, et al., 1975) showed improved client outcomes (lower hypertension and more student learning) resulting from CPE programs. Yet there are many CPE programs that do not produce the expected performance improvement (Lloyd & Abrahamson, 1979).

For educators, these contradictory conclusions about the effectiveness of CPE are unsatisfying because they do not aid in understanding how those programs that were successful differed from those that failed. Those who design and evaluate programs need to know upon what the success of a program depends. For this reason, the research framework used in most studies is not likely to produce fruitful results. From a programming perspective, the wrong question is being asked. A more useful research approach would focus on understanding why some programs are more effective than others in improving the performance of professionals. To do this would require defining and measuring the characteristics of the educational program, including the context in which it is embedded, and determining how variations in these characteristics are related to the outcomes of interest. The research question in this approach would be "under what conditions and for which types of individuals are which characteristics of continuing education most likely to improve professional's performance?" In order to improve the planning and effectiveness of CPE, answers to this more complex question are needed.

A conceptual framework linking CPE and performance has been developed and is described in detail elsewhere (Cervero, 1982). The framework borrows several of its key components from the "adoption of innovations" literature which has also focused on understanding how behavior change is brought about in a social system (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971). The framework proposes that variation in four sets of independent variables would explain variation in the extent of improved performance. The four sets of variables are characteristics of the CPE program, the individual professional, the nature of the proposed change, and the social system in which the professional works. The interplay among these variables is heuristically depicted in Figure 1.

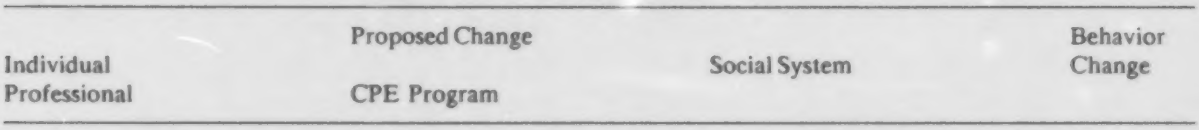
This framework was developed as a method for analyzing the relative success of CPE programs in improving the performance of professionals. The framework falls short of being empirically testable in this form since it describes four generic classes of variables as opposed to operational measure that must by employed in empirical research. The purpose of this study, then, is to operationalize a network of subvariables within the components, leading to a test of the usefulness of the framework on a practical scale. It should be noted that this study is exploratory in that specific hypotheses are not offered to account for relationships between independent and dependent variables. There is no basis for the a prior judgement of which components of the framework are most effective in explaining variations in the dependent variables.

Methodology

The CPE program in this study was developed by the nursing education department in a 500-bed, medical-center hospital in a major metropolitan community in the midwestern portion of the United States. This was a 6-week long orientation program, including 33 hours of classroom instruction designed to prepare recently-hired nurses to practice in their new work setting.

The dependent variable, nursing performance was measured using a 51-item nursing-

Figure 1
Framework Linking CPE and Behavioral Change



care quality-review instrument. The instrument was developed by the hospital's Quality Assurance Committee, and data were collected by committee members during the participants' first week in practice following the CPE program and again 6 months later. Data were collected by reviewing the nurses' charts, observing their patients, and interviewing the nurses themselves and their supervisors. The dependent variable is represented as a percentage, which was constructed by dividing the number of items that the nurse performed correctly by the total number of items.

Ten independent variables were measured in this study. Each of four variables related to the CPE program, one component of the conceptual framework, was measured by a single item on a questionnaire. Using a Likert scale, participants rated the program on its relevance to the faculty and on the match between their learning styles and the educational strategies used. Four additional variables which were related to the individual professional component of the framework were measured: age, race, years in professional nursing practice, and highest degree in nursing. A measurement was made of one variable related to a third framework component, nature of the proposed change. Using a Likert type questionnaire item, participants indicated the likelihood of implementing the program goals into their practice. All data for these nine independent variables were collected on forms completed at the end of the program.

The social system, the tenth independent variable, was assessed by measuring the performance of a random sample of staff nurses on each floor where the nurses participating in the educational program were working. The same 51-item nursing-care quality-review instrument described above was used to collect performance data on a 20% random sample of nurses on each floor. The sample size on the floors ranged from three to eight staff nurses. The staff nurses' performance on each floor was aggregated to produce an average floor performance. Since the nurses who participated in the educational program each work on one floor, their relevant social system is the floor on which they work. Thus, for any one nurse the value of the social system variable was the average score of the staff nurses who work on her floor. The rationale for this type of measurement was that the social system will have its effect as the new nurses observe the way nurses around them practice and that they will, possibly, adjust their own practice accordingly.

A total of 47 nurses participated in the program and constitute the sample for this study. The mean age was 27 years; 98% were female; 72% were white; 61% had a BS/BSN in nursing; and only 9% had any previous professional nursing experience. While the size of group (N=47) is relatively small for the multiple regression analysis used in this study, all available participants were used and thus constitute the population.

The primary units of analysis are the components of the framework rather than the independent variables which compose subvariables within each component. The subvariables are specific to the situation and may change depending on the circumstances. Therefore, we wish primarily to make generalizations about the strength of associations between the components of the specific subvariables for the purpose of possibly using these indicators in future studies. In the multiple regression analysis, the variables were entered as sets according to their association with the four components of the framework. Thus, the four variables being used to measure the individual professional were entered first. These were followed by the nature of proposed change variable, by the four CPE program variables, and finally by the social system variable. This order of analysis permits an interpretation of the effect of the CPE program after accounting for the variation due to the two other components of the framework over which a CPE programmer has less control. The

Table 1
Percent of Variance Accounted for in Nursing Performance at 1 Week and 6 Months

Variable	1 Week	6 Months
Personal	26.8	33.1
Age	13.2	27.3
Race	12.3	4.2
Highest Degree in Nursing	1.0	.4
Years of Professional Nursing Practice	.3	1.2
Plan to Implement Goals	6.1	1.3
CPE Program	27.1	21.7
Relevant Program	10.0	4.1
Clear Objectives	9.2	16.3
Teaching Strategies Match Preferences	2.2	.9
Faculty Effective	5.7	.4
Social System	3.3	7.2
Total	63.3	57.4

social system variable was entered last because its effect should occur after the CPE program has ended and the nurses begin their work on the floors. Because no significant interaction effects were found, the interpretation of the main effect is straightforward.

Results

The findings displayed in Table 1 describe the amount of variance accounted for by the four components of the framework and the total amount of variance accounted for by the framework in each dependent variable. While the results are reported in the form of percentages for ease of understanding, these percents actually represent the r^2 statistic. Thus, the r^2 for the 1 week outcomes is .633 and the amount of variance account for is 63.3%.

The amount of variance accounted for by the framework is greater at 1 week (63.3%) than at 6 months (57.4%). In the context of social science research, the predictiveness of the framework is quite high. At 1 week, the CPE program variables and the individual professional variables have about an equal effect. However, at 6 months, the effect of the individual professional variables is substantially greater than the CPE program variables. Also, the intent of the nurses to implement program goals has a smaller effect at 6 months than at 1 week. Finally, the effect of the social system was greater at 6 months than at 1 week.

Discussion

Many studies have attempted to determine the effectiveness of continuing education for a variety of professional groups. Yet, after all this effort, the only valid conclusion has been that some programs are more effective than others. This paper has argued that the question has been improperly framed and that this has caused the conclusion to be ambiguous. The question has made two assumptions that are inconsistent with the realities of continuing education. The first is that "continuing education" is a unitary construct. Researchers reporting the results of single studies, those who have accumulated the results of many studies, and many others who write about CPE wish to make conclusions about "continuing education." This is simply not possible because CPE varies along many dimensions, including purposes, design, and implementation. The second false assumption is that the only variable that affects the outcome is the CPE program itself. While common sense would suggest that these assumptions are not consistent with sound continuing education practice, the research in the field is unenlightened in this regard.

It was necessary to reframe the question in order to provide results that would have meaning and utility to the practice of continuing education. The use of this new framework provides some preliminary evidence regarding

the contradictory findings of previous research. First, it was found that participant's differential ratings of certain dimensions of the program do make a difference in the program outcomes. Thus, it is likely that in previous studies some CPE programs were more relevant to practice than others and that this produced different levels of effectiveness. Second, it was found that variables other than the CPE program influence the outcomes. In the previous studies, there undoubtly were many important variables that were unaccounted for but that had an influence on whether the expected performance improvement was achieved. In connection with the assumptions described previously, this empirical evidence should justify a redirection of research from determining the effectiveness of CPE to analyzing the effectiveness of CPE. Unless this is done, the field will continue to produce research that contributes negligibly to CPE policy, theory, or practice.

While the framework used in this study provided a useful amount of explanatory power, the study had a number of characteristics that limit the generalizability of the results. First, since this was an exploratory study, there is no sound theoretical rationale to explain the specific findings of the study. That is, in future studies the social system may be found to be the most powerful explanatory variable. As of now, the framework simply serves as a heuristic device to stimulate research questions and organize research findings. As more research is done, a more fine-grained framework may be built that delineates the interplay among the components and the conditions under which they effectively explain behavior change. Second, the sample size is barely adequate for the number of independent variables used in the regression analysis. It is very likely that the small sample has produced some statistically significant results where none truly exist. While all available participants were used in this study, caution must be applied to the generalizability of the results. Finally, this study did not measure performance change; rather, it was a posttest only design using correlations to measure the strength of relationships between independent and dependent variables. The effect of nurses' prior ability was unknown and may have influenced the dependent variables. Further research should use performance change measures, if possible.

Program planners ought to be heartened by the results of this study on two accounts. First, their efforts to plan quality programs can make a difference in performance outcomes. For example, the extent to which the program (a) was judged to be relevant to professionals' practice needs and (b) was judged to have clear objectives was associated with the level of performance outcomes. Second, even the most well-planned program may not result in the expected performance improvements because there are other factors beyond the planners' control. This study found that nearly 27% of the overall performance variance was accounted for by four characteristics of the individual professional. Also, in one performance outcome, 19% of the variance could be accounted for by the fact that some participants simply did not intend to apply what the program had attempted to teach them. All too often, educational programs are implemented to address problems that require other types of solutions such as the selection of new personnel or the proper enforcement of a current policy. Continuing education should never receive all the credit or all the blame for its success or failure in improving performance since it is but one element of a larger context. To the extent that this framework informs continuing educators of how they can make a difference and of how they fit into the larger context, it can be judged as useful.

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TEACHING STYLE AND LEARNER ACHIEVEMENT: THE ANGLO CONNECTION

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Introduction

Although Great Britain and North America share a close and common history in many areas, their educational institutions have flourished on different philosophical bases. About adult education Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) succinctly state that "a wide range of purposes, goals, and objectives has been characteristic of the field from the beginning of the movement" (p. 41). Furthermore, "philosophies of adult education, like all thought systems, originate within particular socio-cultural contexts" (Elias & Merriam, 1980, p. 9). The area of British adult educational thought which has been receiving wide attention in North America can be labeled the cultivation of the intellect. This approach which is based on liberal education and philosophical analysis is expressed in the writings of Paterson and Lawson. On the other hand, the adult education movement in North America has supported the aims of personal and social improvement and of individual self-actualization. These aims have drawn heavily on the progressive writings of Dewey and the humanistic psychologies of Maslow and Rogers. They have been thoroughly integrated into the literature base through the writings of Lindeman (1926/1961), Bergevin (1967), Kidd (1976), Houle (1972), Knowles (1970), and Freire (1970). Although they have combined the ingredients somewhat differently, each of these argued for a learner-centered approach in adult education.

Educators have debated the merits and deficiencies of each of these approaches to teaching. Bennett (1976) found that the traditional approach was more effective than the progressive approach in British primary schools. However, Beder and Darkenwald (1982) found that teachers of adults perceive their students as different from children and teach them differently. Darkenwald (1982) adds that the various teaching styles elicit different types of actions from the students and that students may achieve at different rates when exposed to each style (p. 203). Thus, the question remains: Is there a most appropriate method of teaching adults?

A British View

Educational philosophy seeks to understand the general principles within the educational setting by analyzing the nature of the curriculum and the relationship between the teacher and learners. Lawson and Paterson develop these concepts as they probe the philosophical underpinnings of adult education and the relationship of values to education. For them education is a process which changes people (Lawson, 1975, p. 12) and contributes to their growth as persons (Paterson, 1979, p. 15). It is purposeful and organized, and the learner consciously and actively participates in the activity (Paterson, 1979, p. 14). In order for an educational system to exist,

> Goals have to be specified as do standards of attainment which count as having learnt. Appropriate strategies for learning which involve the active conscious participation of the learner also have to be worked out so we are moving into the realm of teaching conceived as a system of planning objectives, setting standards and devising methods which will help the learner to realize the goals set for him or which he sets for himself. In other words, we have arrived at a learning situation which is an educational situation. (Lawson, 1975, pp. 30-31)

Content for adult education activities focuses on public knowledge. This is knowledge which is accessible to the general public and is measurable against established standards; it is the opposite of knowledge which is private, subjective thoughts. The purpose of the curriculum is "the transmission of knowledge and skills deemed to be worthwhile, in ways deemed to be proper" (Paterson, 1973, p. 355). Those things which are intrinsically desirable or useful qualify as educationally worthwhile knowledge (Paterson, 1979, p. 16). While this knowledge may have moral or social implications, "in itself, the knowledge we are entrusted to transmit is morally, socially, and politically neutral" (Paterson, 1973, p. 356). It is taught to students to provide them "with the means which will enable them to think, to analyse and make judgements" (Lawson, 1975, p. 95). Such knowledge is associated with a liberal

education. It stresses the learning of general principles (Lawson, 1975, p. 81) so that the student can acquire both breadth and perspective (Paterson, 1979, p.20) in "the development of the ability to formulate original thought and new knowledge, and to help the learner work out his own understanding of things" (Lawson, 1975, p. 98).

The educational process requires a teacher. Since educational activity is essentially an interpersonal process, education demands "an encounter between persons, at some stage and in some form" (Paterson, 1979, p. 27). In this situation the "learner is someone who wants to achieve something and who is prepared to do something in order to achieve it" (Lawson, 1975, p. 30). However, learners are not able to learn things beyond their powers of conception and must therefore temporarily give up their freedom in favor of being guided, criticized, and tested in the knowledge base they desire to learn (Lawson, 1975, p. 82-83). With the student's trust in the educational judgements of the professional (Lawson, 1975, p. 20), the teacher is able to feed ideas to the student and to be the one "who introduces learners to things beyond themselves and who forms the bridge between the worlds of private and public thought" (Lawson, 1975, p. 24).

The North American Stance

In North America the adult education literature has supported the aims of individual self-actualization and of personal and social improvement. A large volume of this accumulated body of theory and knowledge subjectively advocates the collaborative mode as generally the most appropriate method for facilitating adult learning. The collaborative mode is a process oriented approach to education in which authority for curriculum formation is shared by the learner and the practitioner. The roots for this mode run deep in the historical development of the adult education movement North America.

Support for the underlying principles of the collaborative mode can be traced through the writings of several prominent adult educators. Lindeman (1926/1961) linked Dewey's ideas for active learners to adult education. For him the central driving force for adult education was participation which utilized the learner's experiences. Since "adult education is a process through which learners become aware of significant experience" (1926/1961, p. 109), the curriculum should be organized around situations rather than subjects. In this process, the teacher's task is to assist the learner in applying the subject matter to his/her needs and interests.

In discussing the relationship of adult education to the democratic process, Bergevin (1967) stresses that adult education is a cooperative venture in which the learner is a full partner. To solve the peculiar problems of the particular adults who are involved, the learners are put first. Subjects are then used as vehicles to help people learn about problems which are related to their experiences and interests. Learning is a personal thing in which the teacher helps the student identify problems, set goals, locate materials, and evaluate outcomes. In this process, the learner is dynamically involved, is able to take ownership of the objectives, and grows in maturity and responsibility.

Like Lindeman and Bergevin, Kidd (1976) argued for a learner-centered curriculum which is based on experience. In his view the central purpose of learning is to assist the learner in "being and becoming" (1976, p. 125). This can be accomplished by significantly involving the learner in the educational process and by delegating responsibility to the learner. In this process, the teacher's task is to create a stimulating, nonhostile, supportive environment. In this setting, the learners can engage in relevant activities aimed at increasing responsibility for their own learning.

Houle defines education as a cooperative art (1972, p. 34). In his comprehensive curriculum model, curriculum formation involves the mutual development of educational objectives by instructors and active learners. In this process, the experiences and unique characteristics of the student and situational factors are considered. The instructor has the obligation of helping the learner understand the educational objectives and the program format and of providing opportunities for the learners to accept the responsibility for their own learning. As the learning program evolves, the instructor may be required to assist the learner in further clarifying or adjusting these objectives to better conform to the individual's dynamic learning needs. After the learning activities are completed, the instructor and learner jointly examine the program and outcomes to uncover possibilities for new educational activities.

In proposing the use of the term andragogy, Knowles (1970) argues that adult learning activities should be based upon the realization that individual maturation steadily increases a person's need and capacity to be self-directing, to utilize experience, to learn for evolving social roles, and to organize learning around life problems. Because of these characteristics, the teacher's role focuses on providing a climate, procedures, and resources for participation and for the acquisition of information and skills. This process helps adults learn

> how to take responsibility for their own learning through self-directed inquiry, how to learn collaboratively with the help of colleagues rather than to compete with them, and especially, how to learn by analyzing one's own experience. (1970, p. 45)

Freire (1970) views education as a vehicle for empowering people to eradicate oppression and ignorance. His educational model is based on a participatory approach. It relies on dialogue between the teachers and learners to stimulate critical thinking, creativity, and reflection upon reality. By means of the cooperative application of problem-posing education, the teachers assist the learners in identifying and clarifying their problems and in locating resources. Through this process, the learners are able to combine action and reflection, and the plans, goals, and actions of the teachers and learners become mutual.

The writings of these prominent adult educators exhibit much commonalty in the basic assumptions of adult learning. Each argues that the curriculum should be learner-centered, that learning episodes should capitalize on the learner's experience, that adults are self-directed, that the learner should participate in the diagnosis of needs, the formation of goals, and the evaluation of outcomes, that adults are problem-centered, and that the teacher should serve as a facilitator rather than a repository of facts. While each of these educators has mixed the educational ingredients somewhat differently, all have combined them in formulas that articulate a comprehensive philosophy supporting the collaborative mode.

Thus, two distinct approaches to adult education exist. Each is based upon a comprehensive set of assumptions and principles. While each provides a solid bases for practice, the theoretical discussion does not clarify the situations in which each approach is most effective. To address this effectiveness issue, a study was recently conducted in Texas to investigate the relationship between student achievement and different teaching styles which can be linked to either teacher-centered or learner-centered philosophical bases.

Conceptual Framework of Study

The assessment of the relationship between teaching style and student achievement requires two measurement tasks. Since the focus of this study was to investigate the effectiveness of the learning principles advocated in the mainstream adult education literature, the Principles of Adult Learning Scale (Conti, 1978, 1979, 1983) was selected as the instrument to measure the style of the adult education teachers. This instrument yields a score which indicates the degree of teacher support of the collaborative mode as described in the adult education literature. High scores on the instrument are associated with the constructs of initiating, progressive, and learner-centered behaviors while low scores relate to the constructs of responsive, traditional, and teacher-centered behaviors. However, unlike other instruments eliciting teaching style, it was constructed solely from the adult education literature base.

Student measures of achievement were derived from teacher assessments. While this method of data collection lacks the rigor of a pretest/posttest design, it is compatible with realities of the operation of an adult basic education (ABE) program. Most ABE programs are set up to deal with highly diverse students who come to the program with a wide range of needs, abilities, and motivations (Mezirow, Darkenwald, & Knox, 1975, pp. 37-55). Many have a negative orientation toward school, and some especially in English as a Second Language (ESL) have backgrounds which they do not wish to disclose. As a result, in order to maintain a nonthreatening learning environment, certain background data is either undesirable or impossible to gather. Although it could improve the rigor of the research design to have controlling data such as IQ scores or a quantitative placement score on each student, these items commonly do not exist in many operating ABE programs.

Recent Adult Education Research Conference sessions have focused on the advantages of collecting data in its natural setting, and Merriam and Jones (1982) have suggested

methods of improving the rigor of "soft" data. They suggest that a potential data source should provide information or insights relevant to the research question and facilitate a practical and systematic understanding of the research issues (p. 143). Such data should be an honest assessment of the account, plausible in terms of the assessor's experiences, and internally consistent (pp. 144-145).

The most natural appraisal of students in ABE is that of the teacher. Since the primary academic concerns of most ABE students are reading and math, teachers make an initial assessment in these areas in order to place students. Because of state and federal requirements for funding, the placement level of each student is recorded. Placement assessment is, thus, a necessary competency for ABE practitioners. It is part of the program, and teachers do it on a regular basis. For purposes of this study, it was assumed that ABE teachers perform this task in a similar manner with each student.

Exit scores can be obtained by two methods. Quantitative scores are available on students completing the General Educational Development (GED) test. Passing the test is equated with reading at the twelfth grade reading level. However, for students who have not taken the GED test, teacher assessment ratings are necessary. Just as in student placement, a variety of techniques are used by individual teachers to assess a student's level of achievement at the termination of either the yearly program or student attendance. Regardless of the exact methods used, the teacher has been in direct contact with the student, has observed the student's work, and has interacted with the student. When combined with other possible measurement devices, experience, and professional competence, these place the ABE teacher in a position to make a reasonably accurate assessment of the student's academic level and to consistently assess all students in the class.

The conceptual framework for this study, thus, rests on two assumptions. One is that a definitive body of theory and knowledge exists which suggests that there is an appropriate means of assisting adults in the learning process. The other is that because of the nature of their job, experience, and interaction with students, ABE teachers are capable of accurately and consistently assessing the entrance and exit levels of their students.

Methodology

Data were collected in a two county region of southern Texas. Student information was culled from official student records for the 1981-1982 academic year. All 29 teachers in the study were part-time instructors working in self-contained classrooms. Seven instructed at the basic level; eight taught GED preparation; and 14 were ESL instructors. Fourteen teachers were female, and 15 were male. They averaged 11.5 years of total teaching experience and 6 years of experience in adult education. All held at least a bachelors degree, and 14 had a masters degree. However, only five had any formal training in adult education. The mean age for this group was 37.7.

These teachers instructed 837 students. Of these 115 were enrolled in basic level instruction; 249 were in GED preparation; and 473 were in ESL classes. The student sample contained approximately twice as many females as males. The average student age was 30 with 181 under 20, 308 in their twenties, 223 in their thirties, 84 in their forties, and 41 over 50 years of age. Students ranged in age from 15 to 76 with 17 being the most common age.

Teaching style in the adult education setting was measured by the Principles of Adult Learning Scale (PALS). This 44-item summated scale was distributed to all the teachers in the program by site supervisors at the beginning of the 1982-1983 academic year. Completed answer sheets and data forms were returned in sealed envelopes. Teachers who completed the scale, had been employed by the program in the previous year, and had complete student records were included in the study. The relationship between the teacher's score on PALS and the academic achievement of that teacher's students was examined by analysis of covariance. This statistical technique allowed for exit scores to be adjusted by entrance scores in order to mitigate any initial differences that might have been present (Huck, Cormier, & Bounds, 1974, pp. 132-135) and thereby to give a more accurate measure of student academic growth in the program. In addition, the design controlled for hours of attendance, the gender of the student, the course of study, and student age.

Findings

The 29 teachers in this study tended to favor

a teacher-centered approach. Their mean score on PALS was 130.05. This is 0.8 of a standard deviation below the normed mean of 146 for the instrument and places the group at the 21 percentile ranking. Although the teacher's scores ranged from 111.5 to 155, only three teachers scored above the instrument's mean score of 146. Thus, the teaching style of this sample was not congruent with the adult education literature, and its distribution was not similar to that of larger groups that had been tested with PALS (Conti, 1983).

In order to compare a teacher's score to student achievement, PALS scores were categorized by one-half of a standard deviation. Analysis of covariance was used to compare the independent variable of teaching style as measured on PALS to the dependent variable of student achievement. Teaching style contributed significantly to student achievement ($F = 5.67$, $df = 4/806$, $p < .001$). The greatest gain was among the group of students whose teachers scored between 1.5 and 2.0 standard deviations below the mean on PALS. The next highest gain was among students who had the teachers with the highest PALS scores in the study. The order of these results changed, however, when hours of attendance were also controlled. The analysis indicated a significant difference ($F = 4.93$, $df = 4/805$, $p = .001$) in the effect of teaching style upon student academic achievement when both student entrance level and amount of student attendance were introduced as covariances. In this situation, the students who had the teachers with the highest PALS scores experienced the greatest academic gains. The group with the teachers scoring lowest on PALS had the second ranking scores. The other three groups were also below the mean for PALS, but their ranking did not indicate a discernible pattern.

The effects of an interaction between PALS score and the variables of the gender of the student, student age, and course of study were examined. While the results of the analysis of covariance disclosed a significant difference due to teaching style ($F = 5.69$, $df = 4/797$, $p < .001$), there was no difference due to the gender of the student ($F = 2.46$, $df = 1/797$, $p = .12$) nor was there a significant interaction between teaching style and student gender ($F = .39$, $df = 4/797$, $p = .82$). Likewise, student age did not cause a difference ($F = 1.12$, $df = 10/756$, $p = .34$), and no interaction was indicated between teaching style and the age of the students ($F = .62$, $df = 40/756$, $p = .84$). Thus, no statistical relationships were found between the student attributes of gender and age that would influence student academic growth.

However, a significant interaction was found between teaching style and the nature of the course ($F = 3.62$, $df = 8/796$, $p < .001$). This is not a surprising finding for a program that contains both GED preparatory courses and ESL classes. Since ESL classes often contain those who are illiterate in both their native language and English and those who are experiencing cultural adjustments, academic growth in the ESL program may occur at a slower rate. Because of the great disparity between the GED and ESL classes, the relationship between teacher's style and student achievement was explored separately for each course of study. In each case analysis of covariance was used and the controlling variables of hours of attendance, gender of student, and student age were examined.

A significant difference was found within the GED classes. Teaching style had a significant impact on student achievement in the GED setting ($F = 16.94$, $df = 4/239$, $p < .001$). Contrary to the adult education literature, students in the most teacher-centered group overwhelming achieved the greatest gains. The general pattern was for student achievement to decrease as PALS scores increased with the classes conducted by the two groups of teachers most supportive of the literature showing the least gain. This same pattern persisted when attendance was controlled. Student age and gender were not significantly related to teaching style and academic gain.

A different pattern emerged from the examination of the basic level and ESL settings. Large but nonsignificant differences in student achievement as related to teaching style were detected in both the basic level ($F = 1.95$, $df = 3/96$, $p = .13$) and the ESL ($F = 2.06$, $df = 4/459$, $p = .09$) setting. However, significant differences in academic achievement associated with teaching style in the basic level ($F = 2.64$, $df = 3/95$, $p = .05$) and ESL ($F = 3.54$, $df = 4/458$, $p = .007$) setting emerged when the covariants of entrance level and hours of attendance were controlled. Unlike the results in the GED setting, students working with the collaborative teachers tended to achieve more than those experiencing a very teacher-centered mode. The amount of gain

was most pronounced in the ESL setting. Although the students whose teachers most strongly supported the collaborative mode had high, positive gains in both settings, the distribution of scores among the other groups of scores on PALS did not demonstrate a pattern. As in all other checks in this study, the characteristics of gender of student and student age were not related to teaching style and academic gain.

Discussion

The major finding of this study is that a relationship exists between the teaching style used in the adult education setting and student achievement. Although the North American adult education literature suggests that the collaborative mode is generally the most effective, this study indicates that GED students learned more in a teacher-centered environment. This may be because GED students tend to be goal oriented and primarily to focus on the short-term task of passing the GED examination. Their task is clear, and they desire to obtain the GED certificate as quickly as possible. As a result correctly addressing their needs may involve creating a structured learning environment in which the externally derived objectives for passing the standardized GED test are clearly delineated and in which human resources are available to help the student stay on task.

A different approach appears to be more appropriate in the basic level and ESL setting. Here the goal is the improvement of skills related to reading, mathematics, and English proficiency. Because of the beginning deficiencies of the entry-level students, there is the realization that this is a long term process. In addition, these skills are related to the person's self-concept. They influence both the way people see themselves and the way they perceive that others see them. Risk taking for personal exploration requires a supportive environment. The teacher is crucial to this process; student involvement in this process is dependent upon acceptance by the teacher (Fellenz, Conti, & Brekelbaum, 1981). Thus, while developing academic skills, these students are also experimenting with interpersonal skills. The time required for building an open, supportive, and warm relationship between student and teacher may also help explain why academic achievement is a function of hours of attendance for teachers with different styles.

Thus, each approach was justified in different situations. In the GED setting, the teacher-centered approach, which is supported in the British literature, was more effective. The GED students responded favorably to the teacher defining what ought to be taught, making them aware of the standards, being an expert in the subject area, knowing what the students needed, and teaching them general principles which could be applied in various settings. The student's trust in the educational judgements of the teacher paid off. In the basic level and ESL setting, the learner-centered approach, which is strongly supported in the North American adult education literature, was more effective. Here the students benefited positively from being actively involved in planning and evaluating their learning activities, in addressing immediate problems, in relating learning activities to their experiences, and in practicing self-directed and interpersonal activities with the help of the teacher. Such results indicate that adult educators on both sides of the Atlantic might benefit from increased dialogue and a closer scrutiny of the philosophical discussion prevalent in the other country.

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THE EDUCATIONAL BROKER: AN EMERGING ROLE FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

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Introduction

> I visited each post-office, town, village and hamlet in the country on this trip. The interest shown in the various communities concerning their welfare where educational advantages of every kind are limited, has certainly aroused the good will and generosity of all concerned, not only toward my horse "Joker" and me but a willingness to meet any extra tax levy for library purposes, and to donate every service possible to assist the work and its extension.--Mable Wilkinson

Gathering and sharing information and encouraging and assisting in further learning experiences have always been the staples of adult educators. For example, Mable Wilkinson, who was Librarian and County Organizer, shared her reading materials with those hearty enough to settle on the high plains of Wyoming earlier this century although she had to travel great distances. Yet, today, individuals in this now vastly organized field called adult education carry additional responsibilities, especially those of program planner and administrator. Ironically, it is these later responsibilities which are contributing to the association we currently have of adult education as an activity and not a process which attempts to satisfy certain ends (Day, in press). Such an association would have been strange indeed to educators such as Mable Wilkinson.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest that an activity orientation does appear to have become a dominant focus for current adult education practitioners. This appears to be reinforced both in the literature and in American graduate programs-- perhaps in British programs as well. This writer also speculates that a more learner-centered focus is nudging its way back to the forefront of adult education and demanding attention be paid to it both in the literature and in graduate programs of adult education. Also realizing that the prospective audience for this paper may be British as well as American, a few comments directed at British adult educators has also been made. As noted, this is a speculative, impressionistic essay; it is not constructed on quantifiable data although the position taken is based on a degree of familiarity with literature and graduate study in adult education.

Activity Focus in Adult Education

When one is asked to define adult education and when one responds that it is the remedial education classes sponsored by the local public school, the evening biology class sponsored by the community college, or the class sponsored by the Open University, then that person is providing an activity-focus definition. If the same person was to respond that adult education is the ongoing process by which adults continue to develop skills, expand their understanding, and/or become more self-reliant and critically aware, then that is a process or ends definition of adult education. Collie Verner (1964) suggested that adult education should be viewed as the "relationship between an educational agent and a learner in which the agent selects, arranges, and continuously directs a sequence of progressive tasks that provide systematic experiences to achieve learning . . ." (p. 32) He suggests an activity focus. In the past two additions of the State of the Art of Adult Education in Wyoming (1979, 1981) a similar focus is presented; adult education is defined as "formal instruction involving an instructional agent and consisting of three or more continuous sessions for adults who were not full-time students" (p. 1) and as "all learning experiences sponsored for adults by a variety of institutions and agencies dedicated to improving the individual and society" (1981, p. 1).

On the other hand, learner-focus definitions of adult education are appearing in the literature. Gordon Darkenwald and Sharan Merriam (1982), for example, offer the following definition:

> Adult education is a process whereby persons whose major social roles are characteristic of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values, or skills. (p. 9)

Activity Focus of American Graduate Programs

One way graduate programs reflect an activity focus is, one might say, through guilt by association. That is, they are quite often aligned with some other administrative unit or administration degree program, e.g., University Extension, Agricultural Extension, Department of Educational Administration, or Department of Higher Education. When such an alignment is made, the outside observer is justified in thinking that commonalties join these programs together, and one shared theme is likely a program planning and administration focus. One should note that not all American graduate departments are combined with the units noted above. Some are combined with programs such as occupational/vocational education or counseling, and some stand alone. Of the two programs with which I am most familiar, both were independent programs--separate Departments of Adult Education--up to just a few years ago. However, they are currently combined with the type of programs noted earlier. The University of Michigan program is now combined with Higher Education to form the Division of Higher and Adult Continuing Education. The University of Wyoming program is now combined with Educational Administration to form the Department of Education Administration and Adult Education.

More important than which other College of Education or university program shares office space with Adult Education is the curriculum offered. When one notes that the curricular offering is primarily geared to program planning, marketing, budgeting, staff development, and administration, then one is again led to believe that there is a major emphasis on activities, i.e., designing them, evaluating them, and delivering them.

However, the emphasis need not only be on program planning to justify an activity focus. A program which also concentrates heavily on teaching is quite likely geared to an adult education activity; this might apply more to graduate programs in Great Britain. For whether one is designing an activity or responsible for directing the activity as a teacher, one often concentrates more on the activity itself than on the needs of adult learners. A classic example of an activity focus in a classroom setting in the American adult education literature is found in Leo Rosten's (1937) *The Education of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N.* In this work, the teacher does his best to keep his class on task while students such as Hyman Kaplan work through their own personal quests for meaning.

Shift in Focus from Activities to Ends

A few years ago Allen Tough (1978) noted that a shift in focus for adult educators was taking place:

> In both research and practice in adult education, there is some evidence of a shift in focus. The traditional focus: providing education or instruction. The emerging focus: facilitating relevant learning . (p. 251)

Two factors are contributing to this shift in focus from providing instruction to facilitating learning: graduate student placement and a re-emphasis on meeting the needs of learners. Currently, the graduate students I have observed enter graduate study with two quite different histories. One type of student enters the program already affiliated with some agency or institution, e.g., agricultural e ension, health care, business and industry, or the armed forces. They study full or part-time and often use their degree, which has a heavy concentration on administration courses, to advance upward along the employment ladder of the agency from whence they came. The other type of student has no direct affiliation with an agency or institution and, therefore, has no job to return to after finishing the program. Many are either making abrupt career changes or flirting with their first career. To this person we can no longer in good conscience hold out the carrot of careers in administration.

The other factor contributing to the shift in focus is a budding re-emphasis on meeting the voiced needs of adult learners referred to earlier. The work of Ivan Illich (1970), Allen Tough (1971, 1972), and more recently of Day and James (1984) and Stephen Brookfield (1983) has drawn attention to an independent form of adult education, an educational experience planned by the adult learner himself or herself. These activities are often directed by the learner and treat the adult education teacher or the administrator of an adult education program as but a resource that may or may not be needed.

The Educational Broker

There is an individual who can be of service to these independent learners. That person is the educational broker. The educational broker concept begins with the belief that "the needs and interests of students take precedence over those of institutions, agencies, and staff" (Heffernan, 1976, p. 2). According to Heffernan (1981) who continues to popularize this concept in the United States, core brokering functions are "defining goals for the learner, setting objectives for education and training, selecting learning experiences to attain competencies, and gaining access to the appropriate learning opportunities" (p. 25). One might add to these core brokering functions that of expanding the community's understanding of adult education, i.e., that it is a process directed at the aims identified earlier. Elsewhere, this writer has presented the argument that adult learners will support adult education programs or services such as a brokerage to the extent that they identify with these activities or services (Day, in press). An educational broker, who can provide services for most community members in the form of available resources for those who wish to complete their formal education, to learn a particular skill, to bring about various changes in the community, and to explore career options, will more likely be qualified to make this concept a reality. As Brookfield (1983) and others have pointed out, the concept of brokerage though attractive has often found community acceptance and support lacking. Of the brokerages founded in the United States during the late 1970's, only a few are in existence today. Indeed, although

> their perceived neutrality is their most valuable asset . . . [it is also] . . . their financial Achilles heel. Where an agency is seen as not serving the interests of a particular sector or institution, then it has not special patronage upon which it can call in time of financial need. (p. 158)

However, as hinted at earlier, part of the problem in the acceptance of educational brokerages is that communities are not prepared for them. This is one item graduate programs in adult education can address by discussions which focus on the relevance and significance of adult education and not merely on how to teach or administer adult education classes. What I am suggesting is that graduate programs treat the foundations of their field as a major component in their classes and not as something brushed over quickly in order to get on to the "how-to" sections. Such a program would work closely with other university departments and organizations and with the local community. Such a program would not only attempt to convince graduate students of the relevance of adult education but would also focus its efforts on the larger community; its success would be measured by the broader understanding and support of its expanding audience. The role of educational broker is a medium for such an effort: the university viewing itself as a learning resource first and a degree granting institution second; the local community viewing itself as an educational resource.

Darkenwald & Merriam (1982) note that the role of educational broker "holds promise for extending counseling services to a much larger segment of the adult population" and that adult education graduate programs are considering this role in their programs (pp. 19-20). Such programs adopt the process definition of adult education described in these pages and extend an open invitation to programs such as vocational education and counseling to discuss like concerns. Such a program which addresses this emerging role of counselor/facilitator/broker will also offer new career options to those students not promised careers as program designers when they complete their studies. Such an emphasis will return the adult learners to their place in the field of adult education--to the center where they have always belonged. To the adult educator is left the tasks of gathering and sharing information and of encouraging and assisting learning experiences.

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SUPPORTING ADULT STUDENTS: THE ROLE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

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Introduction

In her "Chain of Response Model," K. Patricia Cross (1981) assumes that participation in a learning activity is not a single act but rather that it is the result of a chain of reactions. Each such reaction is based on an evaluation of the position of an individual in his/her environment. While Cross tends to over-emphasize the linearity of decision-making in order to illustrate the cumulative nature of the forces for and against participation, the model does call attention to the external influences which are brought to bear upon an individual who is deciding whether or not to enter a learning environment.

The value of the Cross' model is in part that it serves as a basis for organizing thinking while at the same time focusing attention on often overlooked variables related to participation in a learning activity. Indeed, it was the "Chain of Response Model" that stimulated this researcher to delve beyond the factors commonly explored in an effort to learn more about the effect of significant others upon the participation of adult learners in an educational program. Those individuals who facilitate the learning process, provide information, and suggest opportunities (supporters) as well as those who impose barriers and provide negative feedback to the learner counter-supporters) are the central focus of this paper.

Interpersonal Support

While social support from others has long been recognized as playing a crucial role in the mediation of stress (Brown, 1978; Chiriboga, Coho, Stein, & Roberts, 1979; Coelho, Hamburg, & Murphey, 1963; Danish, Smyer, & Nowak, 1980), counter-support from significant others can produce the opposite effect by increasing tension and anxiety. Thus, the question is what role will those closest to the adult play when the learner decides to return to an educational environment?

Significant others such as friends, spouses, children, co-workers, neighbors, and extended family members are just a few of the individuals who have direct influence upon the lives of the adults with whom they interact on a daily basis. Although there is a limited amount of information stemming from research-based sources regarding the various and often conflicting roles played by such individuals, there are an unlimited number of "war stories" recounted by students regarding the reactions of others to their educational endeavors. Sometimes a spouse is not supportive of the mate's decision to participate in a learning activity; occasionally children succeed in making the learner feel guilty for spending too much time away from home; also there are those friends who question the wisdom of returning to school after so many years. The impact of such reactions on an adult learner can be of sufficient magnitude so as to result in the withdrawal from an educational program. In some cases, the family situation is already vulnerable so that the mere enrollment of an individual in an educational activity requires the student to drop out in order to maintain marital stability (Lewis, 1981).

Adult in Transition: Positive Supporters

Coping often occurs in response to or in anticipation of stress. Stress is a general term for an environmental and/or external event which demands, taxes, or exceeds the adaptive resources of an individual (Brammer & Abrego, 1981, p. 19). One's assessment of stress is based on a personal evaluation of available coping resources in relation to the demands being imposed. During transitions such as one's return to a learning environment, an individual must develop new assumptions or behavioral adjustments in order to cope. Cross (1981) asserts that support is a critical factor in the transition process of an adult who is using learning to cope with change or enhance personal growth.

Research evidence indicates that during transitions, interpersonal support is important--even essential--to successful adaption (Lowenthal & Chiriboga, 1975; Dimsdale, 1976; Spaulding & Ford, 1976; Fiske & Weiss, 1977; Schlossberg, 1981). One's own family provides

one of the most natural and common bases for feelings of solidarity and informal help. Additional supporters including relatives, friends, working associates, and employers are alternate sources for soliciting support and non-paid assistance. While today America has gone a great way in professionalizing the helping services, individuals still seek informal helpers and supporters who will listen and understand (Tough, 1982).

Schlossberg (1981) suggests that interpersonal support, including intimate relationships, the family unit, and networks of friends, are the primary resources during successful transition. She also identifies institutional supports located in such places as social welfare agencies, religious institutions, and political groups as less formal, outside agencies to whom an individual can also turn for assistance. The functions of such agencies is evidenced by the proliferation of lectures, workshops, and small groups being offered to adults who are experiencing particular transitions.

Some of the most significant research on the importance of support networks has been conducted by Hopson (1981) who states that generally one's support system is incomplete. He suggests that individuals need significant others with whom to share good news, to depend upon in a crisis, and to help them feel valued. Supporters are invaluable resources who give important information and who challenge stereotypic thinking (Hopson & Scally, 1980).

Counter-Support: Contrapositive Feedback

From the perspective of the returning adult student, not everyone is helpful. Some family members may be threatened by impending change and may even attempt to sabotage the learner's efforts. A few acquaintances, even those who are motivated to help may in fact do more harm than good (Tough, 1982, p. 66).

Weiss (in Houle, 1963), examining the feelings of middle-class and urban men and women about their spouse's enrollment in an evening program, discovered strong objections to their spouse's activity. Participation was viewed as an attempt to escape from home and marital responsibility, and, thus, learning activities were disparaged. Heistand (1971) also observed that the attitude of one's spouse was a critical factor in the success and satisfaction of an adult student enrolled in an educational program.

Finn, Reiss, and Dulber (1980), researching women with lower levels of educational attainment, found females, even more than their male counterparts, were dependent upon teachers and family and tended to respond more rapidly to both positive and negative expectations held for them by significant others.

While social supports have long been recognized as playing a major role in the mediation of stress, a good deal of the literature tends to focus on the experiences of adults with higher levels of academic achievement returning to school to obtain advanced degrees (Aller, 1963; Feldman, 1973; Centra, 1975; Apps, 1980, Lewis 1981). One of the more widely quoted and referenced marital studies of university couples in Aller's (1963) research at the University of Idaho. She found that more than half of the families studied indicated certain problems in their marriages that were causing varying degrees of serious difficulty.

> While some student couples appear to take in stride education and family style, achieving harmony and mutual satisfaction in the marital relationship, others are unable to do so. Some experience difficulty incorporating simultaneously the rigorous demands on time and energy entailed in economic support of the family, the pursuit of educational goals and rearing of children or other responsibilities. (Aller, 1963)

In addition to reporting that financial problems adversely affected the marital adjustment of the student couples, Aller also discovered that subjects who were parents experienced guilt feelings. Their guilt arose from lack of time for their own families and from anxieties concerning the effect of parent substitutes on their children. Studies by Christensen and Philbrick (1952), Hurley and Palonen (1967), and Williams (1977) confirm Aller's results.

In an effort to maintain a comfortable psychological position, many married females who return to graduate school seek to minimize dissonance between academics and home by enrolling part-time rather than full-time (LeFevre, 1972). Others attempt to continue to perform their previous roles and simply add another (Feldman, 1973). Poloma and Garland (1970) cite techniques which women have utilized to reduce "role strain" including setting a priority on motherhood, compartmentalizing their lives, or compromising. Still others drop out.

Feldman (1973), working with data from one

of the largest nationwide samplings of graduate students, reported that among married students, 21% of the women as compared to 9% of the men stated that pressures from their spouses "will or may cause them to dropout of school." He also noted, however, that the most committed and active graduate students were divorced women despite almost 70% of the divorced female graduate students in the sample having at least one child. It appeared to him that divorce became a liberating force for female students because through divorce they lost a source of severe role conflict (Feldman, 1973).

While this research clearly reflects the impact an educational program can have when one enters the university environment, similar effects on undereducated adults, who are clearly subject to similar stresses and pressure when they undertake an educational program, have been under-researched. The high attrition ratios which characterize adult basic education classes are not surprising given the fact that many of the participants bring with them a history of negative school experiences as well as a variety of personal, health, and financial problems. Additional criticism and negative feedback from significant others can do even further damage to already fragile self-concepts and contribute to the student's dropping out of an educational program.

Discovering the Realities: An ABE Profile

In an effort to learn more about the influence of significant others upon adult with low levels of educational attainment, over 200 learners enrolled in adult basic education programs throughout the state of Connecticut were interviewed. The goals of this statewide research project were to determine the range and types of personal and institutional supporters and counter-supporters and their impact on the learner especially with respect to the students ongoing participation and success in an educational program.

In order to determine the presence or absence of support, a typology, adapted from research by Charlie Seashore (1981), was developed. The following categories were established to define the difference roles played by significant others during the course of a student's educational program:

1. ROOTERS--the people who cheered the student on and encouraged his/her efforts.
2. RESOURCES--those who assisted the student by providing information and services.
3. CHALLENGERS--the individuals who were mentors/critical evaluators who pushed the student to progress even further.
4. CONSTANTS--those who loved the students just as they were and encouraged them not to change.
5. TOXICS--individuals who kept putting the student down and inhibited his/her efforts.

During the course of in-depth personal interviews with the respondents either before or after their regularly scheduled classes, students were asked to identify and discuss the various supporters (ROOTERS, RESOURCES, and CHALLENGERS), and the counter-supporters (CONSTANTS and TOXICS) who affected their participation in their educational program. The students identified the "most" and "least" helpful/supportive individuals, as well as the total number of significant others who comprised their support network during their course of study.

Based on the statistical analysis of the data (frequency, one-way Anovas, LSDMOD procedures), significant differences were found in the number and types of supporters and counter-supporters available to adult learners. While there were no sex-specific differences, marital status, race, and age were identified as being significantly related to the range and kinds of support available to the students. Specifically, widowed, separated, and divorced students reported having the greatest numbers of counter-supporters while Hispanic and Black students had the greatest number of CONSTANTS and TOXICS offering contrapositive feedback.

In tabulating the reactions of significant others to the student's education activities, spouses, family members, friends, and children were cited most frequently by respondents as being the learner's greatest supporters. In fact, contrary to the literature, 85% of the students stated that their siblings were extremely positive about their undertaking and actually made it easier for them to attend classes. Only 15% saw their youngsters as neutral observers to the process.

While spouses were identified as the greatest supporters, they were also cited most frequently as being counter-supporters. Similarly, while friends were seen as being supportive by 68% of the respondents, they also formed the second largest group of counter-supporters.

Thus, the evidence points to the paradoxical nature of such relationships when they are defined in terms of supporting a learner's return to an educational program.

While the purpose of this paper is not to present the specifics of the Connecticut ABE study, the data does shed light on the issues related to the participation of undereducated adults and the external forces which are brought to bear. In this research, the majority of the adult learners found friends, family, and teachers who lent encouragement and support to be pivotal to their ongoing participation in their educational programs. However, the antithesis was also true, i.e., friends, co-workers, and family members also comprised the largest group of individuals providing negative reinforcement to the learner. Wanting the individual to remain in the fold, fearing that friends and spouses would grow apart, and worrying that family obligations would be traded off against school, significant others were found to discourage the student's educational undertaking. To compound the situation, learners who were surrounded by TOXICS also had significantly more CONSTANTS in their lives. In addition, learners with the greatest number of TOXICS had fewer RESOURCES. Thus, the research suggests that there are currently enrolled students who are "at risk" and subject to significantly more negative influence and pressure than others when attempting to complete an educational program.

Although all of the respondents in this study were attending classes despite outside influences which were impacting them, longitudinal follow-up is needed to assess the long-term effect of such forces upon participation patterns, attrition, and completion ratios. More importantly, however, the questions needing to be answered are not related to those who participated in this research study, but rather they should be asked of would-be learners and dropouts. What about those who were discouraged from attending, dissuaded by others, and who never made it to a program in the first place? What roles should adult educators be playing to assist such underserved, underrepresented, and high-risk students? How are recruitment and retention strategies being viewed in a social context aimed at the issue of counter-support? Those individuals who are prone to dropping out or who never enroll are perhaps the ones most in need of assistance yet are unserved based on the current definition of "outreach" in adult education.

This research clearly underscores the premises of Hopson (1981), Cross (1981), and Schlossberg (1981) that support is a critical factor in the transition of adults who are coping with change. While the paper is not meant as an action piece aimed at outlining specific strategies for counter-acting negative influences, the data suggests a wide range of protocols which could be developed to assist in facilitating the participation of adult learners. It is clear, however, that the time has come to focus on a holistic approach which takes into account the external forces impacting students during their educational programs. By extending additional support and services to those who are subject to negative influences from significant others and by focusing outreach efforts to include those external to the learning environment, perhaps strides can be made toward increasing success ratios with high-risk and special-needs populations.

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